

THE  
OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI  
VOLUME LXVII

EDITED WITH TRANSLATIONS AND NOTES BY

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and

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## PREFACE

This volume, the first to be published under the auspices of the Arts and Humanities Research Board, gathers the work of no fewer than fifty contributors. In Part I, Dr Obbink has co-ordinated the editing of twenty-four papyri of extant plays of Euripides. Editions of many of these pieces had been prepared by past and present Oxford students, as with the texts in Part II; five formed part of the University College London doctoral thesis of the late Dr David Hughes, and had been made accessible to Professor James Diggle for his OCT edition. Revision of some of Dr Hughes's texts is due to Dr Alberto Nodar.

Part II, also co-ordinated by Dr Obbink, contains parts of twelve different MSS of Oration XIX of Demosthenes, two of them (4569 and 4577) extensive; a pre-publication typescript was made available to Professor D. M. MacDowell for his OUP edition.

In Part III, 'Oracular Texts', Dr Randall Stewart has edited 4581, comprising several pages of a codex of Astrampsychus, notable especially for containing a substantial section extra to the text known from the medieval MSS.

Part IV presents forty-two documents of the Roman and Byzantine periods, several of them relating to particular themes. Two declarations for epicrisis formed part of the Ph.D. thesis of Dr D. Montserrat, as did a document concerning credit in grain; further texts of this latter type come from the Ph.D. thesis of Dr N. Litinas. Coles has prepared sixteen items all from the years AD 361-4 which relate to the transport of *annona* commodities, in the first year of this period unusually to Pelusium. Dr Gonis has edited a number of Byzantine documents, several of them in a group concerned with the churches of Oxyrhynchus.

Part V adds six private letters in which there is both historical and palaeographical interest. Two of these, and two of the documents in Part IV, were studied at the 1997 Oxford Summer School in Papyrology.

Part VI provides publication numbers in the series for nine papyri with Homeric *scholia minora*, which formed part of the Ph.D. thesis of Dr J. Spooner and are to be published in *Studi e Testi di Papirologia* NS vol. i (Firenze).

Dr Gonis has prepared the index for Part III; Coles has indexed Parts IV-V. This is the first volume of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* to have colour plates, which have been prepared from digital images created by Dr Gideon Nisbet. Images of all the items in the volume may be viewed at <http://www.csad.ox.ac.uk/POxy/>

We are deeply grateful to Dr Jeffrey Dean for his meticulous typesetting and to The Charlesworth Group for the rapid production of the volume.

We take this opportunity to announce that the full publication of the astronomical texts included by title only in Vol. LXI of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (nos. 4133-4300) is now obtainable from the American Philosophical Society: Alexander Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society, 233 (Philadelphia 1999); ISBN 0-87169-233-9.

March, 2001

R. A. COLES  
P. J. PARSONS  
J. R. REA  
J. D. THOMAS  
*General Editors*



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RA = R. Ashdowne	JH = J. Hordern	MDR = M. D. Reeve
GA = G. Azzarello	DH = D. Hughes	MR = M. Richter
AKB = A. K. Bowman	CJ = C. Jung	IR = I. Ruffell
GMB = G. M. Browne	DK = D. Kovacs	TS = T. Schelzius
KB = K. Bühler	NL = N. Litinas	GSche = G. Schenke
JLCM = J. L. Calvo Martínez	KL = K. Luchner	G. Schm = G. Schmelz
RAC = R. A. Coles	JMcM = J. McMillan	TSS = T. S. Schmidt
DC = D. Colomo	EM = E. Madison	CS = C. Selzer
BC = B. Currie	RM = R. Mazza	JCS = J. C. Shelton
RD = R. Dilcher	DM = D. Montserrat	AS = A. Speyer
AG = A. Giacomoni	CM = C. Mülke	JS = J. Spooner
VG = V. Giannopoulou	TN = T. Nelson	RS = R. Stewart
NG = N. Gonis	AN = A. Nodar	RDS = R. D. Sullivan
BG = B. Graziosi	DO = D. Obbink	JDT = J. D. Thomas
HCG = H.-C. Günther	MO = M. Ogawa	TT = T. Tsiropoulou
RH = R. Hatzilambrou	PP = P. Pormann	MW = M. Willis
SH = S. Hoban	MP = M. Powers	

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## NUMBERS AND PLATES

<b>4545</b>	I	<b>4581</b> part	III	<b>4618</b>	XII
<b>4546</b>	II	<b>4583</b>	IV	<b>4624</b>	IX
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## NOTE ON THE METHOD OF PUBLICATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

The basis of the method is the Leiden system of punctuation, see *CE* 7 (1932) 262–9. It may be summarized as follows:

<i>αβγ</i>	The letters are doubtful, either because of damage or because they are otherwise difficult to read
...	Approximately three letters remain unread by the editor
[ <i>αβγ</i> ]	The letters are lost, but restored from a parallel or by conjecture
[...]	Approximately three letters are lost
()	Round brackets indicate the resolution of an abbreviation or a symbol, e.g. (ἀρτάβη) represents the symbol ἄρ, <i>CTP</i> (ατηγός) represents the abbreviation <i>CTP</i>
[[ <i>αβγ</i> ]]	The letters are deleted in the papyrus
' <i>αβγ</i> '	The letters are added above the line
< <i>αβγ</i> >	The letters are added by the editor
{ <i>αβγ</i> }	The letters are regarded as mistaken and rejected by the editor

Heavy arabic numerals refer to papyri printed in the volumes of *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

The abbreviations used are in the main identical with those in J. F. Oates *et al.*, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*, 4th edition (*BASP* Suppl. no. 7, 1992). It is hoped that any new ones will be self-explanatory.

## I. EURIPIDES

### 4545–4568 EURIPIDES, EXTANT PLAYS

Presented under these numbers are the remainder of the unpublished papyri of Euripides' extant plays identified thus far in the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society (cf. LX 4012–16 intro.). Some were taken into account by Professor J. Diggle in the preparation of his OCT editions. These are indicated as such in their headings with the sigla (*IT*<sup>1</sup> etc.) used to designate them in those editions. A few precisions and improvements in the reporting of their readings and alignment with the medieval MSS have been introduced in the notes here.

Among the new items, papyrus rolls of the late third–fourth centuries provide the first published ancient MSS of Euripides' *Cyclops* (4545) and *Troades* (4564), and only the second of *Rhesus*. 4546 (*Alcestis*) gives Admetus' lines only, perhaps a private copy for someone learning his lines in the local play. 4549 (*Medea*) omits two lines previously suspect in the MS tradition of this confused speech, and uniquely transposes two others. The overlapping 4557–9 (*Hecuba*) agree among themselves in omitting three verses (756–9) at a point where the medieval tradition is fraught with disorder or lacunae. A number (4549, 4550, 4554–5, 4564) provide examples of accented MSS of the dramas, or show a colometry differing from that of the medieval tradition (4554). Two join with papyri of Euripides already published (4550 with P. Harris I 38 and P. Fitzw. Mus. Add 109; 4561 with VI 877), while a number overlap with each other or already published papyri.

For a list of papyri of Euripides up to 1992 see O. Bouquiaux-Simon and P. Mertens, 'Les témoignages papyrologiques d'Euripide', in M. Capasso, ed., *Papiri letterari greci e latini*, *Papyrologica Lupiensia* 1 (1992) 96–107. The following table updates this list for the plays covered by the new fragments published here for the first time, amalgamating portions of the text witnessed with those of previously published papyri of Euripides. The numbers of Pack<sup>2</sup> or Mertens–Pack<sup>3</sup> are given where they have been assigned. For convenience of reference the titles are arranged alphabetically, rather than according to the traditional order of plays in the MSS of Euripides (as in the order of presentation below). The order is that of the lines in the play as witnessed by the papyri. Entries are repeated in italics where more than one section of the play is covered, in order to juxtapose overlapping papyrus witnesses to the text. Quotations of the text of Euripides in school texts (R. Criboire, *ZPE* 116 (1997) 53–60), anthologies, commentaries, and hypotheses are included, as well as ancient witnesses on parchment, but hypotheses, summaries, and commentaries on Euripidean plays are omitted (as constituting a special category of evidence attesting the text often implicitly or problematically: cf. J. Diggle, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 1–11 = *Euripidea* (Oxford 1994) 327–40; M. van Rossum-Steenbeck, *Greek Readers' Digests?* (Leiden 1998) 1–52, 185–228), as are quotations in ancient authors on papyrus. BB = back blank.

As in the case of many known authors, the new papyri accord with their previously

[continues on p. 16]

TABLE 1. *Papyri of Euripides*

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/(3)</sup>	Π <sup>Diggle</sup> (OCT)
<b>Alcestis</b>		
344-82 (desunt 369-73, 375, 377, 379, 381)	—	—
771(?), 772-3 (bis), 774-9	(378.1)	Π <sup>2</sup>
1159-63	378	—
<b>Andromacha</b>		
5-28 (deest 7), 30-6, 39-48	379	Π <sup>2</sup>
46-62	(379.1)	Π <sup>8</sup>
87-91	—	—
93-9, 150-1(?)	—	—
346-69	(379.2)	Π <sup>3</sup>
519-22, 558-63	—	—
748-51, 790-2	—	—
809-50, 851-91, etc.	—	—
907-14	380	Π <sup>4</sup>
954-1022	381	Π <sup>5</sup>
957-9, 988-90, etc.	382	Π <sup>6</sup>
1009-16, 1061-2, etc.	(382.1)	—
1061-96	—	—
1082-1102, etc.	(382.2)	—
1100-37	(382.1)	—
1113-33	(382.2)	—
1134-42, 1164-72	383	Π <sup>7</sup>
1239-42, 1273-6	382	Π <sup>6</sup>
1280-8	(382.1)	—
1284-8 (coda)	378	—
<b>Cyclops</b>		
455-71, 479-81, 484-96	—	—
<b>Hecuba</b>		
20-1? 503-4?	1571	—

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
<b>4546</b>	pap. ?roll → BB	i BC/i	Oxy.
<b>4547</b>	pap. roll →	iv	Oxy.
P. Yale I 20 = P. Hib. I 25 (repeated coda, sch. ex.)	pap. sheet → BB (↓ ined. lit. text)	iii BC	Hibeh
III <b>449</b>	pap. ?sheet (‘not a codex’: Turner, <i>Typ.</i> 65)	iii	Oxy.
<b>4551</b>	pap. ?roll → BB	iv	Oxy.
<b>4552</b>	pap. roll. → BB	ii	Oxy.
<b>4553</b>	pap. codex	iv?	Oxy.
XXXI <b>2543</b>	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
P. Berol. inv. 21237 ed. W. Luppe, <i>APF</i> 38 (1992) 7-10	pap. codex	v	Herm(opolis)
<b>4554</b>	pap. codex	v?	Oxy.
<b>4555</b>	pap. codex	vi	Oxy.
P. Harris I 39	pap. roll (→↓not stated)	iii	Oxy.?
XXII <b>2335</b>	pap. roll ↓ (→ ined. doc., ii)	ii	Oxy.
P. Ross.Georg. I 8 P. Berol. inv. 17021 ed. W. Müller, <i>FBSM</i> 6 (1964) 8-9 no. 1	parchm. codex pap. codex	vii/viii v	Sinai? Herm.
<b>4555</b>	parchm. cod.	vi/vii	Palestine, Bethlehem?
P. De Langhe ed. J. Mossay, <i>AC</i> 41 (1972) 500-518			
<b>4555</b>	pap. codex	v	Herm.
P. Berol. inv. 13418 ed. G. Manteuffel, <i>JJP</i> 2 (1948) 84-7 (= Cavallo-Maehler <i>GBEP</i> 22a)			
P. Ross.Georg. I 8 P. De Langhe P. Yale I 20 = P. Hib. I 25			
<b>4545</b>	pap. roll → BB	iv	Oxy.
P. Fitzwilliam Mus. inv. 2 (tragic anthology?) ed. F. M. Heichelheim, <i>AJP</i> 61 (1940) 209-10	pap. roll (?→↓)	i/ii	?

Table 1 (cont.)

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/3</sup>	$\Pi^{\text{Diggle}}$ (OCT)
<b>Hecuba (cont.)</b>		
28-44	434 + 1704 = (452.1)	$\Pi^4$
216-231	2456 = (388.1)	—
223-7	(388.2)	$\Pi^5$
254-7	1567	$\Pi^3$
604-7	(388.3)	$\Pi^6$
651-69, etc.	(388.4)	$\Pi^7$
700-3, etc.	389	$\Pi^1$
709-22, etc.	—	—
710-38	(388.4)	$\Pi^7$
737-40	389	$\Pi^1$
739-51, etc.	(389.1)	$\Pi^8$
742-73 (desunt 756-9)	(388.4)	$\Pi^7$
746-61 (desunt 756-9)	—	—
[desunt 756-9]	(389.1)	$\Pi^8$
765-84	(389.2)	$\Pi^9$
768-87	(389.1)	$\Pi^8$
782-94, 816-27	—	—
1252-70, 1271-80	390	$\Pi^2 + \Pi^{10}$
<b>Hercules</b>		
32-40	—	—
137-43, 146-60, 167-70, 238	1740 = (391.1)	cit.
551-60	—	—
1092-9	392	cit.
<b>Iphigenia in Tauris</b>		
53-66	434 + 1704 = (452.1)	cit.
174-7, 179-91, 245-55, 272-86, etc.	400	cit.
350-6	(400.01)	—
581-95, 600-29 (desunt 628)	400	cit.

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
P. Hamb. II 118-19 (collection of prologues)	pap. roll ↓ (→ legal doc. P. Hamb. II 168)	iii-ii BC	?
P. Tebt. II 683 recto ed. F. Montanari, <i>Riv. Fil.</i> 115 (1987) 24-32, 441-3	pap. roll → (↓ alphabet)	i/ii	Tebtynis
XLV 3215 fr. 2	pap. roll. → BB	ii	Oxy.
O. Berol. 12319 (sch. ex.)	ostr.	ii BC	Philadelphieia
<b>4556</b>	pap. roll. → (↓ unident. traces)	iii	Oxy.
<b>4557</b>	pap. roll. → (↓ some traces)	ii	Oxy.
VI 876	pap. codex	v	Oxy.
<b>4558</b>	pap. codex	vi	Oxy.
<b>4557</b>	—	—	—
VI 876	—	—	—
<b>4559</b>	pap. roll. → BB	iv	Oxy.
<b>4557</b>	—	—	—
<b>4558</b>	—	—	—
<b>4559</b>	—	—	—
<b>4560</b>	pap. roll. → (↓ ined. sub-lit. text)	ii/iii	Oxy.
<b>4559</b>	—	—	—
<b>4558</b>	—	—	—
VI 877 + <b>4561</b>	pap. roll. → BB	iii	Oxy.
<b>4562</b>	pap. roll. → BB	ii?	Oxy.
P. Hib. II 179	pap. roll → (↓ unident. semi-cursive)	iii BC	Hibeh
vid. M. Cropp, <i>ZPE</i> 48 (1982) 67-73	—	—	—
<b>4563</b>	pap. ?roll. → (↓ ined. off. doc., ii/iii)	ii/iii	Oxy.
P. Heid. Siegmann 205	pap. roll (?→↓)	iii BC	Hibeh
P. Hamb. II 118-19 (collection of prologues)	pap. roll ↓	iii-ii BC	?
P. Hib. I 24	pap. roll. → ?BB	iii BC	Hibeh
P. Köln V 211 + VII 303	pap. roll ↓ (→ doc.)	iii-iv	?
P. Hib. I 24	—	—	—

Table 1 (cont.)

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/(3)</sup>	<i>Π</i> <sup>Diggle</sup> (OCT)
<b><i>Iphigenia in Tauris</i> (cont.)</b>		
946-55	(400.1)	—
1340-52, 1367-78	—	—
<b><i>Medea</i></b>		
1	(454.3)	cit.
5-12	401	<i>Π</i> <sup>1</sup>
14-15	(1612.2)	—
20-6, 57-63	402	<i>Π</i> <sup>2</sup>
131, 139-48	(402.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>10</sup>
410-27, 501-10, etc.	(420.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>12</sup>
507, 513-7, 545-60	403	<i>Π</i> <sup>3</sup>
545-54	(420.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>12</sup>
547-50, 591-5, etc.	(403.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>13</sup>
710-15	404	<i>Π</i> <sup>4</sup>
718-24, etc.	(404.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>11</sup>
719-23, etc.	405	<i>Π</i> <sup>5a-c</sup>
[desunt 725-6], [727-8 post 729], 729, 727-8, 730-5, 736-7(?)	(404.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>11</sup>
748(?)—52, etc.	405	<i>Π</i> <sup>5c</sup>
825-40, etc.	406	<i>Π</i> <sup>6</sup>
838-41	(420.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>12</sup>
866-78	406	<i>Π</i> <sup>6</sup>
884-7	(420.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>12</sup>
841-65, etc.	426	<i>Π</i> <sup>7</sup>

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
BKT IX 34 (inv. 21133)	pap. roll → BB	i/ii	Herm.
<b>4565</b>	pap. roll. → BB	ii	Oxy.
P. IFAO inv. P.S.P. 248 ( <i>ἀρχή</i> & hypothesis) ed. Diggle OCT (1984) 91-2; cf. W. Luppe, <i>Anagenesis</i> 4.1 (1986) 37-58 + pll. II-IV	pap. roll → BB	ii	?
P. Didot pp. 16-18 (sch. ex. anthology)	pap. roll → (↓ Posidippus epigrams)	ii BC	Memphis
P. IFAO inv. 172 (adaptation) ed. M. Papathomopoulos, <i>Rech. Pap.</i> 2 (1962) 113-16	pap. sheet →	iv	?
XI <b>1370</b> fr. 1 (same codex with <i>Orestes</i> 445-1371 with lac.)	pap. codex	v	Oxy.
<b>4548</b>	pap. roll ↓ (→ ined. doc., ii/iii)	iv	Oxy.
BKT IX 122 (inv. 17018+21218+13231)	pap. codex	v	Herm.
BKT V 2 97-8 (inv. 13243) (= Cavallo-Maehler <i>GBEP</i> 26a)	pap. codex	v/vi	Herm.
<i>BKT IX 122</i> P. Heid. inv. G 1385 ed. R. Seider, <i>ZPE</i> 46 (1982) 33-6	pap. roll →	i BC	?
III <b>450</b>	pap. roll. ↓ (→ ined. doc., ii/iii)	iii	Oxy.
<b>4549</b>	pap. roll. ↓ (→ ined. lit. text, iii)	iii	Oxy.
P. Harris I 38 + P. Fitzw. Mus. Add 109 + <b>4550</b>	pap. roll. → BB	ii	Oxy.
<b>4549</b>			
<b>4550</b> P. Ant. I 23 (with scholia) <i>BKT IX 122</i> P. Ant. I 23 <i>BKT IX 122</i>	pap. codex	v/vi	Antinoopolis
P. Strassb. WG 304-7 recto (anthology of Euripides' lyrics) ed. W. Crönert, <i>Gött. Nachr.</i> (1922) 17-26; re-ed. N. Lewis, <i>Él. Pap.</i> 3 (1936) 52-79; M. Fassino, <i>ZPE</i> 127 (1999) 1-46	pap. roll → (↓ Pack <sup>2</sup> 1592)	iii/ii BC	?



Table 1 (cont.)

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/(3)</sup>	$\Pi$ <sup>Diggle</sup> (OCT)
<b>Medea</b> (cont.)		
977-82	426	$\Pi^7$
1007-9	405	$\Pi^{5c}$
1024-89, etc.	—	—
1046-53	405	$\Pi^{5a}$
1054-6	(420.1)	$\Pi^{12}$
1057-62, etc.	407	$\Pi^8$
1059-64	(420.1)	$\Pi^{12}$
1086-92	407	$\Pi^8$
1087-1114	426	$\Pi^7$
1098-1103	(420.1)	$\Pi^{12}$
1119	—	—
1149-63, etc.	408	$\Pi^9$
1156-60, 1165-77, etc.	405	$\Pi^{5b}$
1171-90	408	$\Pi^9$
1191-9	405	$\Pi^{5b}$
1251-92	426	$\Pi^7$
1279-1328 (deest 1300)	405	$\Pi^{5a}$
1345-6(?)	405	$\Pi^{5c}$
1389-1419	426	$\Pi^7$
1415-9	378	—
<b>Orestes</b>		
1	453	$\Pi^1$
6, 9-10	1592	$\Pi^3$
53-61, 89-97	409	$\Pi^3$
134-42	(409.1)	$\Pi^4$
196-216	(409.11)	$\Pi^5$
205?, 208-25, 226-47	410	$\Pi^6$
268-9	1950	—
290-300, 304-9, etc.	(410.1) + (412.2)	$\Pi^{7a} + \Pi^{12}$
314-20	—	$\Pi^{20}$

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
<i>P. Strassb. WG 304-7 recto</i>			
<b>4550</b>			
BKT IX 161	pap. roll → BB	iii BC	?
ident. W. Luppe, <i>APF</i> 41 (1995) 34-9			
<i>P. Harris I 38</i>			
BKT IX 122			
P. Univ. Coll. London	parchm. codex	iv/v	Arsinoë
ed. H. J. M. Milne, <i>CR</i> 49 (1935) 14			
BKT IX 122			
<i>P. Univ. Coll. London</i>			
<i>P. Strassb. WG 304-7 recto</i>			
BKT IX 122			
BKT IX 161			
XXII <b>2337</b>	pap. roll ↓ (→ ined. doc., i)	i/ii	Oxy.
<i>P. Fitzw. Mus. Add 109</i>			
XXII <b>2337</b>			
<i>P. Fitzw. Mus. Add 109</i>			
<i>P. Strassb. WG 304-7 recto</i>			
<i>P. Harris I 38</i>			
<b>4550</b>			
<i>P. Strassb. WG 304-7 recto</i>			
P. Yale I 20 = P. Hib. I 25 (repeated coda)	pap. sheet → BB	iii BC	Hibeh
XXVII <b>2455</b> fr. 3 col. iii25 (ἀρχή & hypothesis)	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
P. Strassb. WG 307 verso (anthology)	pap. roll ↓	ii-i BC	?
ed. B. Snell, <i>Hermes Einzelschr.</i> 5 (1937) 89-92	(→ Pack <sup>2</sup> 426)		
XIII <b>1616</b>	pap. codex	v	Oxy.
P. Köln VIII 131 (+ III 252)	pap. roll → BB	ii/i BC	?
P. Laur. inv. III/908	pap. roll →↓?	ii BC	Fayum
ed. R. Pintaudi, <i>SCO</i> 35 (1985) 13-23; cf. V. Di Benedetto, <i>ibid.</i> 25-7			
P. Col. VIII 202	pap. roll (→↓ not stated)	i BC	?
XXIX <b>2506</b> fr. 26 col. ii 18-21 (comm. on lyric poets)	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
BKT IX 83 (inv. 21180+17051+17014)	pap. codex	vi	Herm.
LX <b>4013</b>	pap. roll → BB	i BC/i	Oxy.

Table 1 (cont.)

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/(3)</sup>	$\Pi$ <sup>Diggic</sup> (OCT)
<i>Orestes</i> (cont.)		
321-30, 333-9	(410.1) + (412.2)	$\Pi^{7a} + \Pi^{12}$
338-43	411	$\Pi^8$
445-9, 469-74, 482-6, 508-12, etc.	402	$\Pi^9$
599-601 (+2 vv.)	—	—
685-90, 723-9	402	$\Pi^9$
754-64	412	$\Pi^{10}$
811-17	402	$\Pi^9$
835-46	(412.01)	$\Pi^{19}$
850-4	402	$\Pi^9$
867-81	(412.1)	$\Pi^{11}$
884-95	(410.1) + (412.2)	$\Pi^{7a} + \Pi^{12}$
896-8, 907-10	402	$\Pi^9$
918-27	(410.1) + (412.2)	$\Pi^{7a} + \Pi^{12}$
934-6	402	$\Pi^9$
939-54	—	$\Pi^{24}$
941-51, etc.	(412.21)	$\Pi^{13}$
945-8	402	$\Pi^9$
973-83	(412.21)	$\Pi^{13}$
986-1002	—	$\Pi^{21}$
990-3	—	$\Pi^{22}$
1062-85, 1087-90	413	$\Pi^{14}$
1155-6	1576	$\Pi^{15}$
1233-52	—	$\Pi^{23}$
1246-65, 1297-1305, 1334-45, 1369b-71	402	$\Pi^9$
1313-26, 1335-50, 1356-60	414	$\Pi^{16}$
1377-96 (deest 1394)	(414.01)	$\Pi^{17}$
1407-10, 1432-42, 1621-35, 1649-60	(414.02)	$\Pi^{18}$

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
<i>BKT IX 83</i>			
MPER V 65-73 (with music) (= <i>GMAW</i> <sup>2</sup> 35)	pap. roll. → BB	c. 200 BC	Herm.
<b>XI 1370</b>	pap. codex	v	Oxy.
<b>4567</b>	pap. roll → BB	ii/iii	Oxy.
<i>XI 1370</i>			
P. Cairo JE 56224	pap. roll. →↓?	i/ii	Oxy.
ed. W. G. Waddell, <i>Ét. Pap.</i> 1 (1932) 15 no. 7			
<i>XI 1370</i>			
P. Mich. 3735	pap. roll	i BC	?
ed. L. Koenen & P. J. Sijpesteijn, <i>ZPE</i> 77 (1989) 261-6	(→↓ not stated)		
<i>XI 1370</i>			
PSI XV 1475 (ined.)	pap. roll. →↓?	i/ii	?
mentioned by V. di Benedetto, <i>Eur. Orestes</i> (1965)			
<i>BKT IX 83</i>			
<i>XI 1370</i>			
<i>BKT IX 83</i>			
<i>XI 1370</i>			
P. Duke inv. 615	pap. roll → BB	iii BC	?
ed. L. Pearson Smith, <i>ZPE</i> 98 (1993) 15-18			
<b>LIII 3716</b> (with stichometry)	pap. roll → BB	ii/i BC	Oxy.
<i>XI 1370</i>			
<b>LIII 3716</b>			
<b>LX 4014</b>	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
<b>LX 4015</b>	pap. roll → BB	i	Oxy.
P. Gen. inv. 91	pap. roll →↓?	ii/iii	Fayum
ed. J. Nicole, <i>Rév. Phil.</i> 19 (1895) 105-8			
P. Ross. Georg. I 9 (Euripides anthology)	?	ii BC	?
<b>LX 4016</b>	pap. roll → (↓ ined. doc.)	ii	Oxy.
<i>XI 1370</i>			
<b>IX 1178</b>	pap. roll → (↓ not stated)	ii/i BC	Oxy.
<b>LIII 3717</b>	pap. roll ↓ (→ ined. doc. Antoninus Pius)	ii	Oxy.
<b>LIII 3718</b>	pap. codex	v	Oxy.

Table 1 (*cont.*)

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/(3)</sup>	<i>Π</i> <sup>Diggle</sup> (OCT)
<b>Phoenissae</b>		
[deest 1-2], etc.	453	<i>Π</i> <sup>1</sup>
[deest 1-2], etc.	(414.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>16</sup>
[deest 1-2], etc.	(414.2)	<i>Π</i> <sup>17</sup>
3	1934	—
3	453	<i>Π</i> <sup>1</sup>
3-14	(414.2)	<i>Π</i> <sup>17</sup>
3-40	(414.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>16</sup>
31-5	415	<i>Π</i> <sup>11</sup>
46-61	(414.2)	<i>Π</i> <sup>17</sup>
50-69	(415.01)	<i>Π</i> <sup>19</sup>
51-64	(414.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>16</sup>
106-18, 128-40	416	<i>Π</i> <sup>3</sup>
171-85, etc.	417 + (420.21)	<i>Π</i> <sup>4</sup>
182-90	(417.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>14</sup>
220-6	417 + (420.21)	<i>Π</i> <sup>4</sup>
244-50	(417.11)	<i>Π</i> <sup>20</sup>
280-98, etc. (desunt 291-2)	(417.2)	<i>Π</i> <sup>13</sup>
307-10, etc.	418	<i>Π</i> <sup>8</sup>
Σ to 334-1108	419	<i>Π</i> <sup>6</sup>
337-41	418	<i>Π</i> <sup>8</sup>
337-51, 364-77, 379-92 (deest 387)	(417.2)	<i>Π</i> <sup>13</sup>
430-7, 461-7	—	<i>Π</i> <sup>22</sup>
446-637 (adaptation)	420	—
469	—	—
493-503, etc.	(420.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>12</sup>
505-512	(420.1)	<i>Π</i> <sup>12</sup>

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
XXVII 2455 fr. 17 col. xx 290 + fr. 19.2 (ἀρχή & hypothesis)	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
XLVII 3321	pap. codex	ii/iii	Oxy.
XLVII 3322	pap. roll ↓ (→ ined. money accts.)	i/ii	Oxy.
O. Edfu III 326 (hymnic acclamation) ed. G. Manteuffel, <i>JJP</i> 3 (1949) 102-3 (= <i>Suppl. Hell.</i> 989)	ostrakon, private copy	ii/i BC	Edfu
XXVII 2455 fr. 17 col. xx 290 + fr. 19.2			
XLVII 3322			
XLVII 3321			
P. Ant. II 74 (writ. ex.)	pap. sheet ↓ BB	vi/vii	Antinoë
XLVII 3322			
LIII 3712 (writ. ex.)	pap. sheet → BB	ii	Oxy.
XLVII 3321			
P. Lit. Lond. 75 (sch. ex.)	opisth. ostrakon	ii BC	?
re-ed. D. J. Mastronarde, <i>ZPE</i> 49 (1982) 7-14			
IX 1177 + LIII 3714	pap. roll ↓	i BC/i	Oxy.
P. Kraus	pap. roll ?↓→	i BC	?
ed. L. Feinberg, <i>BASP</i> 12 (1975) 71-4			
IX 1177 + LIII 3714			
LIII 3713	pap. roll ↓ (→ ined. informal, ii)	ii	Oxy.
BKT IX 72	pap. roll ↓ (→ list of owners)	iii	Herm.
MPER III 21	pap. ?sheet (‘not a codex’: Turner, <i>Typ.</i> 105)	vi/vii	?
P. Würzb. 1	pap. codex	vi	Herm.
MPER III 21			
BKT IX 72			
LX 4012	parchm. codex	v	Oxy.
PSI XIII 1303	pap. ?sheet ↓ (→ admin. accts., ii)	ii/iii	Oxy.
P. Heidelberg G. 1744 (ined.) (sideways in right margin of doc.) ed. W. Luppe, <i>APF</i> 43 (1997) 96	pap. sheet	ii	?
BKT IX 122			
BKT IX 122	pap. codex	v	Herm.

Table 1 (cont.)

Play/Verses	(Mertens-)Pack <sup>2/(9)</sup>	Π <sup>Diggle</sup> (OCT)
<b>Phoenissae</b> (cont.)		
529-34	2642	—
533-4, 543-8	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
552-75	(420.2)	Π <sup>15</sup>
565-9, 591-7, 601-5	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
606	1356	—
615-18	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
625-35	(420.21) + 417	Π <sup>4</sup>
646-57, etc.	421	Π <sup>2</sup>
684, 690-703, 719-20, 722-39	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
768-89, 793-806	422	Π <sup>10</sup>
828-33, 846-51, 861-7, 898-900, 931-4	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
1017-43	421	Π <sup>2</sup>
1027-49	423	Π <sup>7</sup>
1064-71	421	Π <sup>2</sup>
1079-95	424	Π <sup>9</sup>
1079-95	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
1097-1107, etc.	425	Π <sup>1</sup>
1113-29	(420.1)	Π <sup>12</sup>
1126-37	425	Π <sup>1</sup>
1327-37	—	—
1383-7, 1415-8	(425.1)	Π <sup>18</sup>
1500-81, 1710-36 (with lac., deest 1732)	426	Π <sup>5</sup>
colophon	(426.01)	Π <sup>21</sup>
<b>Rhesus</b>		
48-96	427	Π <sup>2</sup>
839-47	—	—
<b>Troades</b>		
340-6	—	—
876-9 (+ alphabet)	430	—

Publication	Medium (→↓)	Date	Prov.
P. Cairo JE 65445 ( <i>Un livre d'écolier</i> , ed. Guéraud & Jouguet)	pap. roll → BB	iii BC	Fayum
BKT IX 122 XLIV 3153	pap. roll → BB	ii/iii	Oxy.
BKT IX 122 P. Rain. 1.23 (Σ Pind. Pyth. 1.46-66)	pap. cod.	vi	?
BKT IX 122 IX 1177 + LIII 3714	pap. roll → ?BB	ii/iii	Oxy.
P. Ryl. III 547 + II 224 BKT IX 122	pap. ?sheet ↓ (→ ined. κατ' ἀνδρα list)	ii	Arsinoite nome?
P. Merton II 54 (sch. ex.)			
BKT IX 122 P. Ryl. III 547 + II 224	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
PSI XI 1193 P. Ryl. III 547 + II 224	pap. roll → ?BB	ii	?
P. Berol. inv. 11868 ed. G. Manteuffel, <i>JJP</i> 2 (1948) 81-4			
BKT IX 122 MPER V 74-77 (sch. ex.)	wooden tablet verso (recto: Pack <sup>2</sup> 227)	iv/v	?
BKT IX 122 MPER V 74-77			
4566	pap. roll → BB	i	Oxy.
BKT IX 111	pap. codex	vi	Herm.
P. Strassb. WG 304-7 recto (anthology of Euripides' lyrics) ed. W. Crönert, <i>Gött. Nachr.</i> (1922) 17-26; re-ed. N. Lewis, <i>Ét. Pap.</i> 3 (1936) 52-79; cf. M. Fassino, <i>ZPE</i> 127 (1999) 7-9	pap. roll → (↓ Pack <sup>2</sup> 1592)	iii/ii BC	?
LIII 3715	pap. roll → BB	ii	Oxy.
P. Achmîm 4 4568	pap. codex pap. roll → BB	iv/v iii	Panopolis Oxy.
4564	pap. roll → BB	ex. iii/iv	Oxy.
BKT V 2 98 (sch. ex.)	wooden tablet codex	i	?

published counterparts in agreeing inconsistently both with the traditions represented by the medieval MSS and among themselves. They contain interesting variants alongside distinct errors, with value differing according to text-type. Palaeographical analysis is in some cases a means of establishing text-type. The papyri exhibit numerous variations of the type termed 'respectable variants' (M. W. Haslam on XLIV 3152 introd.), i.e. of the type (i) not grammatically incorrect, and (ii) not against the meaning of the text, in addition to (iii) purely orthographic variations and (iv) distinct errors. The new fragments bear out the expectation that variations of types (i) and (ii) are more likely to be witnessed by papyri palaeographically and codicologically identifiable as professionally produced than do those that conversely point to the school room or private production as their origin; these typically yield a higher portion of discrepancies in categories (iii) and (iv). 4546 may be taken as an obvious example.

Professor Diggle's OCT has been used for collation throughout, and for supplying the text in the missing portions for purpose of illustration and to represent plausible spacing and layout, except where the text preserved by the papyrus was divergent or insufficiently extensive. Occasionally we have supplied readings in the missing portions different from Diggle's text, where demanded by spacing, context, or the textual tradition witnessed (see e.g. 4545 on v. 471). On the textual tradition of Euripides see H. Erbse in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung* i (Zurich 1968); V. Di Benedetto, *La tradizione manoscritta Euripidea* (Padova 1965). For individual cruces: F. H. M. Blaydes, *Adversaria critica in Euripidem* (Halis Saxonum 1901), J. Diggle, *Studies on the Text of Euripides* (Oxford 1981), id. *Euripidea* (Oxford 1994), and the special studies on individual plays. For assessment of the relation of the papyri to the medieval tradition see B. E. Donovan, *Studies in the Papyri of Euripides from Oxyrhynchus* (Diss., Yale 1966), id. *Euripides Papyri* i (New Haven and Toronto 1969); A. Ponzio, 'La tradizione papiracea della Medea di Euripide', *Analecta Papyrologica* 8-9 (1996-7) 95-142; M. W. Haslam on P. Oxy. XLVII 3321-2, LIII 3712-19, and LX 4012-16.

D. OBBINK

4545. EURIPIDES, *CYCLOPS* 455-71, 479-81, 484-96

104/Dec.23

14.5 × 16.5 cm

Fourth century  
Plate I

The lower parts of two consecutive columns originally of 23 lines each, constituting the first papyrus of *Cyclops* to be published. The lower margin measured at least 3 cm and intercolumnar space at least 4 cm. Height of the roll may be estimated at 22 cm; the length necessary for the 709 lines of *Cyclops* is 5.5 m, occupying perhaps 31 columns of text (depending on the colometry of the choruses elsewhere). The hand is a superb large-sized capital, slightly sloping to the right, similar to P. Chester Beatty XI (Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEPP* 2b) or XXXIV 2699 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 49). In comparison with similar scripts of the Severan Style the hand of our papyrus stands out by the size of its writing and its marked shad-

ing (horizontal thinner than verticals, some diagonals thinner than others). Paragraphus is used, possibly to mark off metrical sections: after 486 (anapaestic runs concluded by paroemiac), and after 494 (lyric strophe against anapaests). There is apparently no example of this use of the paragraphus in a dramatic papyrus but it is in full accord with the statements of Hephaestion (p. 75, 15-18) and with what we find later in Triclinius (cf. e.g. schol. T on Aesch. *Ag* 40b). Other lectional signs are a diaeresis in 495 and a mysterious dot in 492 (and again in 495?), probably all by the first hand. Iota adscript is written in 462 and 490. The writing is along the fibres. The back is blank.

The papyrus confirms two minor adjustments of the text of L(aurent. pl. 32.2) in 491 and 495 but shares L's error in 458. In 461 the papyrus introduces a new reading which is doubtless inferior to L. The spurious vv. 480-2 and the *παρεπιγραφή* before 488 are already present but the latter is marked off as such by indentation.

In 482-96 we get a valuable attestation of the ancient colometry, which differs from Diggle's text at 492/3.

Col. i

(4 lines missing)

[fr. 1]	455	[ακρεμων ελαιας εστιν εν δομοικι] τις [ον φασγανωι τωιδ εξαποξυνας α]κρογ [εσ πυρ καθησω καιθ οταν κεκαυμ]ενον [ιδω νιν αρας θερμον εις μεσην β]αλων [Κυκλωπος οφιν ομμα τ εκτηξω π]υρι
	460	[ναυπηγιαν δ ωσει τις αρμοζ]ων ανηρ [διπλοι χαλινοι τρυπανον τ]ροχηλατει [ουτω κυκλωσω δαλον εν φασ]φορωι [Κυκλωπος οφει και συναναω] κορας [ιου ιου ]
	465	[γεγηθα μαινομεσθα τοις ευρημας]ιν [καπειτα και σε και φιλουσ γεροντα] τε [νεωσ μελαινης κοιλον εμβησας σ]καφος [διπλαισι κωπαισ τησδ αποστω]λεω ] χθονοσ [εστ ουν οπωσ αν ωσπερει σπονδης θ]ξου
	470	[καγω λαβοιμην του τυφλοντοσ ομμ]ατα [δαλου φονου γαρ τουδε κοινωνειω θε]λω ]

## Col. ii

(5 lines missing)

- [fr. 2] 479 το[υς ενδον οντας ου μονος σωθησομαι]  
 480 και[τοι φνγοιμ αν κακβεβηκ αντρου μυχων]  
 481 αλ[λ ου δικαιον απολιποντ εμους φιλους]  
 (2 ll. lost)
- [fr. 1] 484 ταχθει[ε δαλου κωπην οχμασαι]  
 485 Κυκλω[πος εσω βλεφαρων ωσας]  
 λαμπραν [οψιν διακναισει]  
 ωιδη ε[νδοθεν]  
 ciγα ciγα και δ[η μεθυων]  
 αχαριν κελαδ[ον μουσιζομενος]  
 490 [ε]καιος απωι[δος και κλαυσομενος]  
 491 χωρει πετρ[ων εξω μελαθρων]  
 492 φερε νιν κωμ[οις]  
 492/3 παιδευωμεν [τον απαιδευτον]  
 494 παντως μελλει [τυφλος ειναι]  
 495 μακαρ οστις ευια[ζει]  
 [βο]τρυνων φιλαις[ιπηγαις]

458 βαλων L: βαλώ Pierson (see Seaford ad loc.). Failure to recognise the correct word division in the next line (ομμα τ') might have contributed to the error: L read ὄμματ', and the papyrus may well have intended it.

461 τροχηλατει is a unique reading: κωπηλατει L. L's κωπηλατει, suitable to the nautical imagery (cf. also 484 below), is clearly right (for the meaning see Hom. *Od.* 9. 383ff.). τροχηλατει, the *lectio facillior*, might have suggested itself to someone who supposed it to mean 'to turn round like a wheel'. It is a more obvious verb for the movement of a drill than the rare κωπηλατειν, and also a more familiar one (cf. E. *Or.* 36, *El.* 125, always metaphorical). Thus far this papyrus is alone in attesting it.

471 φονου with L; Diggle prints φόνου after Nauck.

480-1 These verses (together with 482, lost in the gap between fr. 2 and 3) are most probably an interpolation (see Seaford ad loc.). The papyrus shows that they were present already in antiquity.

491 χωρει Tr<sup>2</sup>: χ- (γε) L.

492 νιν L: νιν conjectured by Diggle.

492 ff. L divides φερε . . . παιδεύωμεν / τὸν ἀπαίδευτον / πάντως κτλ. (as printed in modern editions). This is probably a case of the influence of Triclinius on the exemplar of L (see *ZPE* 63 (1986) 6 n. 16). The result would be to effect a παρατέλετον: see O. L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus* (Leiden 1975) 157.

492/3 There is a trace of ink before the second letter, as possibly also in 495. The one here is a firmly made round dot. These are perhaps line-spacing dots (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 4 n. 7) covered by letters in some lines.

495 μακαρ papyrus, Hermann: μακάριος L. There is a low dot below ρ.

H.-C. GÜNTHER

## 4546. EURIPIDES, ALCESTIS 344-82 WITH OMISSIONS

103/216(a)

7.3 × 15.1 cm

First century BC/first century AD  
Plate II

Full height of column, with 30 lines, showing the top and seemingly the bottom margin. 355-6 show line-ends and margin at right, but the left side is missing. The text is written along the fibres in an unsteady, yet carefully executed and narrowly spaced upright capital (the back is blank). In particular it is noteworthy in that it preserves Admetus' lines only, omitting those of the chorus and Alcestis at 369-73 and Alcestis' in stichomythia at 375, 377, 379, 381. Note short height of column (13.3 cm) and roll (c. 15 cm). The hand betrays a certain insecurity through the presence of some overwritten strokes, unevenness in the height of some letters, and the occasional wavering. Yet the careful, upright quality of the shapes and consistent rotundity seem to show a practised writer, rather than a learner at work, who produces a 30-line column which in the brief compass is closely and carefully written.

It is difficult to characterise the hand as anything other than a book-hand. It has some affinity for XXX 2508 'Elegiacs (Archilochus?)', written on the back of a document of the first century AD and datable also to the first century, though as Lobel cautions: 'the clumsiness of the writing may make it look earlier than it is.' The letter shapes (especially triangular α with cross-stroke that meets the left arm above the foot and is sometimes near horizontal, μ in four movements, γ with bowl in one separate movement balanced on a stem) suggest a date in the first century BC or the first half of the first century AD. An instructive parallel is P. Fay. 7 (Homer, *Od.* VI, found with Augustan documents) = Roberts, *GLH* 9b, which is more calligraphic, but compares well in its α with finial on left foot, and also shows the closed ε, together with a 'sometimes awkward grouping of letters' and 'a general air of angularity' (Roberts). For hands from Oxyrhynchus of Julio-Claudian date see also II 282 (complaint about wife, 30-35 AD, pl. VII, *GLH* 10b); cf. II 216 (rhet. ex., *GLH* 10a), IV 686-8 (Hom. *Il.*, pl. VII); IX 1177 + LIII 3714 (Eur. *Phoen.*; Augustan document pasted on front, plate in B. E. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* pl. I no. 3, and same MS as LIII 3714). Note also top arm of κ written almost horizontally, with the bottom arm sometimes connecting half way along it. Left leg of α sometimes close to vertical (e.g. 350). Bowls of c and e full and round but falling forward, the cap a flattish forward falling stroke which in e is almost closed, i.e. often connects at tip with the cross-bar, which is written somewhat higher than centre, giving overall a top-heavy, unbalanced impression. Otherwise the writer models round letters, especially ο, ϑ, and φ, on the model of a perfect circle. The writer aims for bilinearity, with violation only by φ. The only lectional sign in evidence is an apostrophe marking elision in 344. Elsewhere elision is effected but not marked.

The fact that Admetus' lines alone were copied makes it unlikely that there were any speaker changes or *notae personarum*, unless these lines were differently assigned than elsewhere in the tradition. The interventions of Alcestis and the chorus might have been signalled by *paragraptoi*, now lost. Omission of the chorus' and Alcestis' lines, together with

the unorthodox character of the hand, erratic orthography and unique variants might point toward a non-professional but competently produced copy for special use. Copying of Admetus' lines only might suggest someone who wanted them for a specific purpose. Learning the lines in the local play? An anthology of excerpts? If more than one column was written, it is unlikely that just this speech of Admetus was copied, since the line-count from its beginning at v. 328 fails to tally with the top of a hypothetical preceding column of 30 lines, while this column begins in the middle of a sentence. Were only Admetus' lines from the entire play written? His lines before 344 (the top of the column here) add up to exactly 30.

Adm	[στεφανους τε μο]υσαν θ' η κατειχ εμ[ους δομους]
345	[ου γαρ ποτ ουτ αν] βαρβιτου θιγοιμ ε[τι] [ουτ αν φρεν εξ]αιραμι προς Λιβυ[ν λακειν] [αυλον συ γαρ μο]υ τερμιν εξειλου [βιου] [σοφηι δε χειρι τεκτ]ονων δεμας το σο[ν] [εικασθεν εν λε]κτροισιν εγγραφ[
350	[ωι προσπεσου]μαι και περιπτυξω[ [ονομα καλων σο]ν την φιλην εν αγκα[λαις] [δοξω γυναικα κ]αιπερ ουκ εχω[ν εχειν] [ψυχραν μεν οιμ]αι τερψιν αλλ ομως [ψυχης απαντλοιη]ν α[ν εν δ ον]ει[ραξι]
355	[φοιτωσα μ ευφραι]ν[οις αν ηδν γαρ φιλουσ] [καν νυκτι λευσσει] ο[ντιν αν παρα χρονον] [ει δ Ορφεωσ μοι γλωσ]ca κα[ι με]λο[ς] παρη[ν] [ωσ την κορην Δημη]τροσ .[. .] ν[η]ς ποσ[ιν] [υμνοισι κηλησαντ]α ς εξ [Αιδο]υ λαβ[ε]ιν
360	[κατηλθον αν και] μ [ο]υθ ο Πλουτωνος κ[υων] [ουθ ουπι κωπηι ψυχ]οπομπος α[ν Χαρ]ω[ν] [εσχ αν πριν εσ φωσ] τον καταστ[η]σαι βι[ον] [αλλ ουν εκεισε προσδοκα μ] οταν θ[ανω] (364 abraded)
365	[εν ταισιν αυταισ γ]αρ μ ε[πικκηψω κεδροισ] [σοι τουσδε θειναι πλευρα] τ εκτ[ειναι πελασ] [πλευροισι τοισ σοισ μ]ηδε γαρ θα[νων ποτε]
368	[σου χωρισ ειην της μον]ης πιστης ε[μοι]
Cho./Alc	(369–73 om.)
Adm 374	[και νυν γε φημι και τελευ]τησω ταδε

Alc	(375 om.)
Adm 376	[δεχομαι φιλον γε δωρον] εκ φιλης χε[ροσ]
Alc	(377 om.)
Adm 378	[πολλη μ αναγκη σου γ απε]στερημε[νοισ]
Alc	(379 om.)
Adm 380	[οιμοι τι δρασω δητα σου μονο]υμενος
Alc	(381 om.)
Adm 382	[αγου με συν σοι προς θεων] αγου κα[τω]

344 θ' pap., VLPQ: omitted by BO.

345 Elision after θιγοιμ effected but not (like θ' in 344) marked.

346 ?εξ]αιραμι (the supplement probable but not certain) is unique at a point where trouble in the text is signalled by variance in the tradition: ἐξάιρομι BOV and Ψ<sup>b</sup>: ἐξάρομι LP, on the basis of which Wakefield conjectured ἐξάραμι (accepted by Diggle), since the Σ's paraphrase, οὐ πείσαιμ' ἄν τήν ἐμὴν φρένα λακεῖν, seems to suggest the aorist. If the scribe intended the aorist, i.e. if *i* in the papyrus' reading is assumed to have been transposed (as seems likely), it may be taken as confirming Wakefield's conjecture, or at least providing qualified support, insofar as it contains the aorist stem.

347 μο]υ pap., BOVLPO, printed by Diggle: μοι conjectured by Hermann and Earle. But this is then followed by a Bophocles-like error: τερμιν for the MSS' τέρψιν (a confusion possibly induced by familiarity with Lat. *terminus*?). The writer successfully executed the word τέρψιν in 353.

At the end, βίου was omitted by BO, but spacing for it is consistent with that of the other expected line-ends, and at other points of divergence the papyrus text follows V or LP against BO.

348 δεμας το σο[ν] pap., VLP and gE, printed by Diggle: τὸ σὸν δέμας BO.

349 εγγραφ]: Presumably the papyrus read εγγραφ[ησεται], a unique reading, which fails to produce good sense. BOVLPO transmit ἐκταθήσεται.

350 περιπτυξω[ν] pap.? περιπτύσσων BOVLPO. The future participle is conceivable but unnecessary and probably a slip.

353 Spacing suggests that the papyrus read μέν against the (unmetrical) μέν οὖν transmitted by gV (μέν om. gE).

οιμ]αι pap., BOVLPO (also attested by the gnomologia gVgE?): οἶδα conjectured by Elmsley.

355 ἴλουσ pap., V and gE, printed by Diggle: φίλοισ BOLP: φίλω gV: φίλοσ conjectured by Musgrave. The papyrus provides welcome confirmation.

356 παρα pap., otherwise unattested and without sense, no doubt a phonetic confusion: παρήι BOVLPO.

357 γλωσ]ca presumably pap., with BOV and gBbE: γλώττα LP, an Atticised spelling. Later in the line there is enough of ο to lead one to believe that μέλοσ was written, as in BOVLPO and gB, and not μέλη as quoted in gE, either in hendiadys or with the generalising function of a singular noun.

358 Alignment of ]τροσ with ]ca κα[ι in the line above gives sufficient space almost to guarantee that the papyrus read ὡσ τήν with BOVLPO against Reiske's emendation ὡστ' ἢ adopted by Diggle—unless ὡστε ἢ was written in scriptio plena, but elsewhere the scribe elides.

369–82 Omitted are the chorus' lines 369–70, and Alcestis' lines at 371–3, and then her lines in stichomythia with Admetus at 375, 377, 379, and 381. Yet these lines seem necessary and integral. When they are omitted, the remaining lines copied do not give a syntactically complete soliloquy by Admetus. Why were they omitted? Hardly mechanical scribal error. It is difficult to get beyond the idea that at some stage in the tradition, the omissions were intentional. Why? To create an anthology of excerpts? And why copy Admetus' lines only? One might think of a copy intended for someone memorising Admetus' lines. But would not someone using the text to practise Admetus' part need Alcestis' and the chorus' lines for his cue?

376 BOVQ, added by a corrector of L, accepted by Diggle: omitted by LP. The papyrus provides ancient testimony for its presence, at a point where, without it, Alcestis' lines before and after could be read as continuous.

D. OBBINK

4547. EURIPIDES, *ALCESTIS* 771?, 772-3 bis, 774-9

36 4B.99/G(1-4)c  
*IT*<sup>2</sup> Diggle  
 M.-P. 378.1

3.4 × 4.9 cm

Late second or third century

In this small fragment parts of the beginnings of eleven lines from *Alcestis* are represented. Of the first of these, only two tiny dots of ink remain. The other ten lines cover lines 772-9. Lines 772-3 are repeated.

The text is written along the fibres in a clear, medium-sized hand. Broad letters, such as Η, Δ, Ν, and Τ, markedly contrast with the narrower ones, such as Ο, Ρ, and Σ: Υ and Ρ have long tails. Ω has two pronounced loops, separately penned, raised high in the centre. As an example of the Severe Style of the second to fourth centuries, the hand bears some comparison with XXVII 2463 (commentary on a poetic text?), especially in its uprightness, but with a more vertically compressed quality (e.g. in Α and Δ). As with the hand of 2463, that of the present fragment is more upright than later examples of this type of handwriting, with only a slight slope to the right.

The change of speaker at line 773b is indicated by the paragraphus below line 772b, and the remains of a marginal note of *dramatis persona*, Her(acles), at a point where we would expect it. Were these indications already present at 772a-773a? Elision is effected and marked by apostrophe in lines 776 and 779. High stop in 775. There is no further evidence of lectional aids. Iota adscript was not written in 778, the only expected place where we can judge. Two small traces of ink occur in the margin, of which little more than 0.5 cm remains, opposite the start of lines 777 and 778, no doubt no more than accidental blots. No variants from the modern text appear.

The verso contains slight remains of a text of uncertain content, in an untidy, undistinguished, medium-sized hand, probably dating from the third century.

. . . . .  
 ].[.].[  
 772a [στυγ]ω δι[καιως εν κακοις αφιγμενον]  
 773a [ουτο]ς τι [σεμνον και πεφροντικος βλεπεις]  
 772b στυγω δι[καιως εν κακοις αφιγμενον]  
 773b [H]<sup>ρ</sup> ουτος τι [σεμνον και πεφροντικος βλεπεις]  
 774 ου χρη σκ[υθρωπον τοις ξενοις τον προσπολον]  
 775 ειναι· δεχ[εσθαι δ ευπροσηγορω φρενι]

cu δ' ανδρ [εταιρον δεσποτου παρονθ ορων]  
 στυγω π[ροσωπω και συνωφρωμενω]  
 δεχη θυρα[ιου πηματος σπουδην εχων]  
 δευρ' ε[λθ οπως αν και σοφωτερος γενη]

773b Though far from certain, the trace in the margin is probably part of Ρ, from η<sup>ρ</sup> = 'Hρ(ακλήε).

777 Were it not for the evidence of the following line δεχη θυρα[, where no iota adscript is to be seen, the end of this line could be read as -ωιπ[, with ι and one upright of π; however, both uprights should probably be read as π, with no ι.

D. HUGHES

4548. EURIPIDES, *MEDEA* 131, 139-48

36 4B.110/D(1-2)a  
*IT*<sup>10</sup> Diggle  
 M.-P. 402.1

3 × 8.6 cm

Fourth century

The text is on the vertical fibres of a ragged and damaged piece of papyrus which has been patched up by some additional strips affixed to the recto, which carries some remnants of a documentary text in a second/third-century cursive, and a kollesis, both now partly obscured by the repair strips. To the lower left and extreme right of the Euripides some alien traces of ink are visible which belong to writing on these repair strips.

The text is written in a now brown ink in a rough hand of the Severe Style of the fourth century. It is smallish and mainly upright, with only a slight slope to the right. Generally, it is too faint and ill-preserved to permit a detailed study of the letter forms, in some cases only the merest outline remaining. There is some contrast between broad and narrow letters, and some difference in the thicker vertical and finer horizontal strokes may be noted, particularly in ε and π.

The first line which is positively identifiable is 139, the start of the lament of the Trophos. Above this, all that remains of the inset lines of the chorus, from 131 to 138, is part of the abbreviation χ<sup>ο</sup>; one diagonal stroke from x survives, inset about 1.5 cm from the margin. There is room for six or seven lines between this trace of x and line 139. The abbreviation χ<sup>ο</sup> appears again at the foot of the fragment, almost exactly aligned below the one at the top of the papyrus.

In addition to the chorus, the other two speakers in the piece, the Trophos and Medea, are indicated by marginal abbreviations. Change of speaker is shown by paragraphus at line 143. At line 141, there is possibly part of a rough breathing, and an apostrophe marking elision, and a high stop in 145. No other lectional aids are in evidence. One unique variant (140) is to be noted.



- 131 χ<sup>ο</sup> εκλυον φωναν εκλυον δε βοαν]  
(c. 6 lines missing)
- 139 Τροφ̄ ουκ ειςι [δομοι φρουδα ταδ ηδη]  
140 ος μεν [γαρ εχει λεκτρα τυραννων]  
η δ' εν θ[αλαμοις τηκει βιοτην]  
δεσποι[να φιλων ουδενος ουδεν]  
παραθα[λπομενη φρενα μυθοις]  
Μηδ̄ αιαι δι[α μου κεφαλας φλοξ ουρανια]  
145 βαιη τ[ι δε μοι ζην ετι κερδος]  
φευ φε[υ θανατωι καταλυσαιμαν]  
[β]ι[ο]ταν ς[τυγεραν προλιπουσα]  
χ<sup>ο</sup> [αιες ω Ζευ και Γα και φως]  
[

140 ος is a new reading: τὸν HE, already conjectured by Musgrave: δ ΩLP and H. δς μεν in itself makes perfect sense and metre. But demonstrative δς would not be expected in Euripides (cf. KG II 228).

141 Part of the vertical stroke of a breathing may remain above η. The papyrus accords with the MSS in η δ, not carrying the Doric δ δ' preferred by Murray.

144 Again the papyrus agrees with the MSS tradition, without the addition of Murray <δ̄ Ζεὺ και Γὰ και φῶς>. After αἰαί Medea continues with διὰ μου κεφαλᾶς κτλ., all written on one line; αἰαί extra metrum, presumably.

D. HUGHES  
A. NODAR

4549. EURIPIDES, *MEDEA* 718–35 (desunt 725–6, 727–8 post 729), 736–7(?)

36 4B.110/H(1–3)c  
P<sup>11</sup> Diggle  
M.–P. 404.1

2.5 × 9.3 cm

Third century

This narrow strip of papyrus has parts of the ends of eighteen lines from the top of a column. Just over 1 cm of the upper margin remains. The text is written across the fibres in a smallish, neat hand, of the Severe Style with a slight slope. On the recto there is another book-hand of a similar type, but larger: mainly upright, with only a slight slope, comparable to XXXI 2538 (ppl. VI and VII). Its η, ν, and π are broad, contrasting with the narrower ε, θ, ο, and c. This text, of an uncertain category, should be dated to the end of the second century. For the fragment of the *Medea* on the verso, a third-century date would be suitable.

The lines contained in the papyrus are 718 to 724, 729, 727 to 728, 730 to 735, plus two further lines represented by meagre traces. 725 and 726 have been omitted, while 727–8 have been displaced. 728 is present, we believe, with a new reading for the end of the line, possibly confirmed by the scholia. The speech of Aegeus, from 719 to 730, is somewhat confused and patently repetitious if the MS tradition is followed. Kirchhoff condemned 725 to 728, which Murray retained with the explanation *sed personae congrua iteratio*. The papyrus may appear to be an improvement on the MSS, but is still not very satisfactory; the sequence 729, 727 is perhaps equally repetitious, with ἀντή appearing twice. Certainly nothing is lost by the omission of 725 and 726, except the repetition of the sentiments, and Diggle follows our papyrus in excising these two lines. The papyrus overlaps at 720–1 and 723 with P. Harris I 38 fr. 1 (P<sup>5a</sup>).

Apart from accents at lines 728 and 734, there are no lectional aids. With the exception of line 728, and the general re-arrangement of the lines, there are no variants from the MS tradition.

- 718 [σπειραι σε θησω τοιαδ οιδ]α φαρμα[κα]  
[πολλων εκατι τηνδε κοι δ]ουναι χα[ριν]  
720 [γυναι προθυμος ειμι πρω]τα μεν θ[εων]  
[επειτα παιδων ων επαγγελ]λη γον[αc]  
[εc τουτο γαρ δη φρουδος ειμι] παc εχ[ω]  
[ουτω δ εχει μοι σου μεν ελθο]υσης χ[θονα]  
724 [πειρασομαι σου προξενειν δ]ικαιος [ων]  
729 [εκ τηςδε δ αυτη γης απαλλασ]σου πο[δα]  
727 [αυτη δ εανπερ ειc εμους ελθ]ης δομ[ουσ]  
728 [μενεις ακυλος κου σε μη προ]δῶ πότ[ε]  
730 [αναιτιος γαρ και ξενοιc ει]ναι θελ[ω]  
[εcται ταδ αλλα πιστιc ει γε]νοιτο μοι  
[τουτων εχοιμ αν παντα προ]c σεθεν κα[λωc]  
[μων ου πεποιθας η τι κοι το δυ]cχερες  
[πεποιθα Πελιου δ εχθρος εcτ]ί μοι δομο[c]  
735 [Κρεων τε τουτοιc δ ορκιοιc μ]εν ζυγεις  
].....[  
]...[

721 επαγγελ]λη: ἐπαγγέλλη(ι) BDALP and V<sup>2</sup>: -έλλη GEV: ἀπαγγέλλη O.

725–8 Kirchhoff deleted these lines.

727–8 precede 729 in ΩLP. On the authority of the present papyrus and grounds of sense Diggle adopts the order 729, 727, 728, 730. 729 was deleted by Nauck.



Fr. 3

From the area of unused papyrus below and beside the text, it may be inferred that most of the fragment consists of lower and intercolumnar margin. The latter is marred by various blots of ink.

Of the letters read,  $\alpha$  is certain and the final  $c$  and  $\epsilon$  are fairly certain. The looped upper stroke of  $\alpha$  repeats that to be found in  $\xi\nu\nu\omega\delta\alpha$  in fr. 2, line 1008, confirming the association of the fragments.

D. HUGHES  
A. NODAR

4551. EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHA* 46–62

18 2B.64/D(7)b  
I<sup>h</sup> Diggle  
M.–P. 379.1

5 × 13.8 cm

Fourth century  
Plate II

A fragment from the top of a column (upper margin at least 2 cm). The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank. The papyrus overlaps at 46–8 with III 451.

The hand is a medium-sized later Severe Style represented by *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 49 (which Turner rightly assigns to the fourth century), with a slight slope to the right.  $\iota$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\phi$  (and  $\tau$  in 56, 57) extend below the line;  $\phi$  has a broad circle with a tall vertical stroke.  $\circ$  is small and  $\tau$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\kappa$  frequently ligatured to it; in 58 the first  $\circ$  is set within the arms of  $\kappa$ .  $\omega$  is broad and shallow; the central horizontal line of  $\epsilon$  is long and ligatured with following  $\iota$ . There are no accents. A diaeresis is written in the first line. A mark of elision is used twice. Iota adscript is not in evidence. The addition of  $\tau'$  to line 54, although it is in darker ink, might be ascribed to the same scribe as the main text.

*N*]ηρειδο[*c*  
υπε]κπεμπ[ω  
] φοβουμ[ενη]  
εμ]οι παρα  
50 ] δ ουδεν εστ' απ[ων]  
εν]θα Λοξ[ι]ακ δικη[ν]  
] εις Πυθω μολω[ν]  
] ου τεινει δικην  
]τ'  
55 ] δ ην τω c[ω πο]ζει  
] δ ην τω c[ω πο]ζει

60 νεο]υε cτηρω [  
δεσποτ]ων α[ιθηρεται]  
βο]υλευε[ται]

46 *N*]ηρειδο[*c* pap.: *N*ηρηιδος III 451: *N*ηρηιδος VLP: *N*ηρηιδος MAV<sup>3</sup>: *N*ηρηιδος BOW, printed by Diggle.

50 ] δ ουδεν pap.: τ'ουδέν MBOAVWLP, printed by Diggle.

51 Λοξ[ι]ακ pap.: Λοξία MBOAVWLP, printed by Diggle.

52 ε*c* pap., MBOAVLP: ε*c* Tr., printed by Diggle.

53 τεινει pap., O: κτείνει MBVWLΣ<sup>mny</sup>: τίνει AP<sup>yp</sup>Σ<sup>mny</sup>: κτείνει B<sup>3</sup>: οδ κτείνω Hermann. οδ is transmitted by all witnesses. Diggle argues in his apparatus that it is superfluous, suggesting οί τίνειν.

58 Mark at end after space in darker ink, perhaps intended as marking clause-end?

59] δ pap.: τ' MBOAVWLP.

ην pap., MBOAVWLP: η edd., printed by Diggle.

60 cτηρω pap.: ηκω MBOAVWLP, printed by Diggle. Only ]υε remains of the word preceding cτηρω, and after cτηρω the line is lost. νεο]υε cτηρω [λογου*c*] does not make sense, and the scribe may well have written something different.

M. OGAWA

4552. EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHA* 87–91

81 2B.85/10(b)

2.6 × 2.8 cm

Second century

A small scrap from a papyrus roll; width and height of column unknown; intercolumnar space at least 1.3 cm; line-spacing 0.4 cm. The back is blank. The text is written along the fibres in a regular, fluent, rounded book-hand of medium size that slopes a little to the left. The letters are in general slightly taller than broad, with the narrow  $\iota$  and  $\rho$  contrasting with the markedly broad  $\omega$ . All preserved letters are strictly bilinear (particularly  $\iota$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\gamma$ ). Vertical and oblique strokes are usually decorated with left-facing serifs at the top ( $\alpha$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\gamma$ , left vertical of  $\eta$ ; not  $\alpha$ ) and right-facing ones at the bottom ( $\alpha$ ,  $\iota$ ,  $\lambda$ ), which are, however, not added as separate strokes, but written without lifting the pen. The cross-bars of  $\epsilon$  and  $\eta$  are slightly raised. The hand shows influence of cursive scripts in the looped  $\alpha$ , the looped lower left angle of  $\alpha$  (4), in  $c$  (upper stroke almost a horizontal forming a right angle with an only slightly curved vertical), and in  $\gamma$  the vertical of which resembles a small loop; additionally,  $\epsilon$  is joined with  $\iota$  (5). In general, however, the scribe wrote his letters separately.

For the general type, cf. XVIII 2161 (Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 24; sim.  $\alpha$ ,  $c$ ,  $\omega$ , but on the whole more formal), XXVI 2441 (ibid. 22; sim.  $\alpha$ ,  $\circ$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $c$ ,  $\omega$ , serifs), the London *Hyperides* (P. Lit. Lond. 132 = Roberts, *GLH* 13b; sim.  $\alpha$ ,  $\alpha$ ,  $\circ$ ,  $\rho$ ,  $\gamma$ ,  $\omega$ , but more informal), all assigned to the second century, and, in particular, XLII 3030 (*GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 87; most probably AD 207; cf.  $\alpha$ ,  $\lambda$ ,  $\circ$ ,  $\gamma$ , serifs, vertical extension). Thus, a date in the second century seems likely.

No accents, breathings, quantity marks or critical signs are in evidence. Change of

speaker is indicated by paragraphoi; a high stop in 1, perhaps added by a second hand. The scribe wrote iota adscript in 1 and elided tacitly in 3.

The text neither yields any new readings nor overlaps or joins with other papyri of the play hitherto known.

87 οραις· απ[αυδαις  
ου δητ[α  
αλλ ε[ιμι  
90 δουλ[ης  
χωρε[ι

C. MÜLKE

4553. EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHA* 93–9, 150–1(?)

83/47(b)

4.6 × 4.2 cm

Fourth century?

Fragment with (outer?) edge of codex leaf, written in a now brownish ink. Identification of lines on one side is not certain, so it is not possible to tell front and back with certainty. Hand is a later capital of smallish-medium size, minimum decoration, perhaps lingering severe style shapes (e.g. η, diminutive ω), combined with later forms (κ as in chancery hands). Final η is abbreviated once at line-end by the placement of a supralinear stroke over the preceding vowel. Elision appears to have been effected (98) but probably not marked, and in the same line there may not be space for iota adscript.

(?front)

↓

93 εμπεφυ]κε γαρ  
] κ ακων  
95 ]  
στεν]ειν  
Εκτορ]α  
δαιμο]ν ω [ς]υνεζυγη  
αναξιω]ς

95 No trace of line-end, but the line is shorter than 94 and 96.

(?back)

→

[  
[  
[  
[  
?150 δ[ομων  
?151 αλ[λ  
[

150–1(?) δ[ in supposed 150 might be read as α[; conversely, αλ[ in supposed 151 might be read as δ[. Between the two lines there are some specks of ink in the margin, probably accidental.

Among beginnings in the surrounding lines to which these traces might adapt, there are also 124–5 δ[ιδυμων, αλ[δρα and 178–9 δ[σοιν, αλ[λ'. But judging from the alignment of the text on the other side (97–8) this would imply a codex page of 26 lines for the former (too short; also middle of chorus and papyrus' colometry uncertain) and 80 for the latter (too long). 150–1 imply a page of 52 lines, which is quite long but conceivable.

D. OBBINK

4554. EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHA* 748–51, 790–2

105/60(a)

10.7 × 6.9 cm

Fifth century?

Top of a codex page written in a now brown ink with generous top margin (4 cm) and line beginnings on one side, line ends on the other. The original scribe penned marks of elision, and the accent on *τάλαινα* (748); other accents and middle stops have been added in a thinner pen and black ink after the initial text was written. Hand is a diminutive version of the Coptic uncial, with minimal decoration: serifs in the form of dots on arms of γ and τ, flat apex once on α, and contrast between thick verticals and thinner horizontals. × shows tail swooping low to left (note that in front 1 what at first glance seems to be a continuation is an accent in the line below, not part of x). Tail of γ similarly angles out to left at bottom. ω comparatively wide, c, ε in a narrow compass by contrast. A marginal note of obscure import is written to the right of 791 in a small pale semi-cursive hand.

The colometry of 791–2 differs from Diggle's edition.

?front

↓

κύ τ' ω τάλαινα· χείματ[ος γαρ αγριου]  
τυχοῦσα· λιμένας ἦλ[θεσ εις ευνημεους]

750 [ω πρεc]βυ θ[εοι co]ι δo[ιεν  
] π[αιδα ]...[

?back

→

790 [ω γερον Αι]ακιδα{ι}  
[πειθομαι και cv]γ Λαπ[ι]θ[αιc]ι cε Κεγ [ ] . εφ[α]ι  
[ταυροιc ομιληc]αι δ[ορι κλ]εiv[οτατω(ι)

D. OBBINK

**4555.** EURIPIDES, *ANDROMACHA* 809–50, 851–91, 1061–96, 1100–37  
(several lines lost)

95/53 (a)

Overall c. 32 × 36 cm

Sixth century

Several fragments belonging to one bifolium from a papyrus codex. Measurements are as follows: the c. 40 lines of each column are around 25 cm high; the maximum preserved upper margin is 4.8 cm and the lower margin is 6 cm. This results in a page c. 36 cm high. As for the breadth, inner margins measure between 1.5 and 2 cm, and the maximum outer margin (in p. 3) is 5 cm. Since an average line is about 12 cm long, the entire page would be around 19 cm broad. These measurements place our codex in Turner's first group; i.e. 'the largest sizes' (*Typology* 14), more specifically in his third subgroup, with 'less broad, still very tall (35 cm. H and more)' codices. Perhaps his codex 459 (*Virgil glossary*, P. Ryl. III 478 + P. Med. 1 + P. Cairo, attributed to the fourth/fifth century), measuring 20 × 35 cm, is the closest to ours in dimensions.

At c. 40 lines per page, the entire play would have occupied 32 pages (i.e. 16 leaves, 8 bifolia). The 808 lines missing before **4555** would have fitted in 10 leaves, and two more would have been needed after **4555** to complete the play. If the quires of the codex consisted of four bifolia, then the play could have fitted in two quires, and the codex itself might have contained just this work. The gap between pages 2 and 3 of **4555** (ll. 892–c. 1055) would correspond to the innermost bifolium of the second quire. If the quire size was larger, then we would have some extra leaves at the end of the *Andromacha*, very probably continuing with another play.

The hand, in a brown faded ink, is a sloping pointed majuscule of the type represented by PSI II 126 (Menander, *Aspis*), attributed to the first half of the fifth century (*GBEPP* 15b); but it shows features which point to a later date, such as Δ in a slightly slanting position, some curvature of the strokes, elongated ο, and, above all, the pointed ends of the verticals of κ, ρ, τ, γ, and φ, which descend below the base-line. The conspicuousness

of the shading, which shows thicker obliques descending to right and thinner ones ascending to right, and thicker vertical strokes against thinner horizontals, also indicates a later date, as described for XV **1817** (Homer, *Iliad* XVII and XVIII), attributed to the mid-sixth century (*GBEPP* 28a), with which our papyrus compares very well. Cf. also P. Berol. inv. 11754+21187 (Homer, *Odyssey* X; *GBEPP* 39a), assigned to the second half of the sixth century (see in particular the use of ornamental roundels at the end of strokes). I should be inclined to propose the sixth century as the probable date for our papyrus.

Lectional signs are used profusely: acute, grave and circumflex accents, a diaeresis, apostrophes, smooth breathings, a sign for crasis and paragraphoi to mark change of speaker are present in the text. They seem to be due to the same hand as that responsible for the main text, although in some cases they appear to be written in a lighter ink, which might indicate that some of the lectional signs were added in a second reading of the text by the same scribe. The same can be said of the abbreviations of characters' names (that at 1070 in a paler ink could be thought to be due to a different hand, by reason of the different shape of λ, but see, for instance, λ in 851 for a more rounded version of the letter), and the superscript corrections at 814 and, probably, 825. Most, but not all words carry accents. Elision is consistently effected and seems to have been consistently marked, although apostrophes are not always visible in the places where they would be expected, mainly due to the damaged condition of the surface, as in 1107 and 1108. For similar reasons, one would suspect, iota adscript is not visible at 883, while it is consistently written elsewhere in the text.

1061–2 overlap with P. Berol. inv. 17021 and 1082–96, 1101–2, 1113–33 with P. De Langhe; 1133–7 overlap with P. Berol. inv. 13418 (*IT*<sup>7</sup>). Very possibly, a new variant at 1068.

Page 1

→

810 εκ τῶνδ' α[τιμωc  
η κατ[θ]άνη[ι  
μόλ[ιc] δέ [ ]  
είργ[ουcι  
ξίφη κ[αθ]α[ρπαζουcιν  
ουτω με[ ] ] τ' α[λγει  
815 ἔγνωκε πρ . . . [ ]  
[δ]εc[ποι]ναν έ[ι]ργου[c  
υ[μειc] δ[ε] βαcαι τ[ωνδε  
θαν[ά]του νιν εκ[λυcαcθε  
φ[ιλων] γέοι μολον[τεc  
820 και μὴν ἐν [ο]ικο[ιc  
[βο]ήν ἐφ' οίcιν [ ]  
δέ[ι]ξέ[ι]ν δ' έ[οικεν

πράξαα δει[να  
 φεύγουσα χειρα[ε  
 825 σπαρ]α'γ'μ[α  
 ]..[

(c. 9 lines missing)

]..[  
 [. . .]. ξ' ω[  
 [καταρα]το[ε  
 840 [κυγ]γν[ωσετα]ί σοι τ[  
 [τι] μοι ξιφ[οε  
 [απο]δοε ω φ[

ε[ρ]είζω πλ[  
 845 [αλ]λ' ε[ι ε]' αφείην μη φ[ρονουσαν  
 [οιμ]οι πότμο[υ  
 ]. '[  
 (1 line missing)

[κ]ατα[  
 850 ]. α[

810 del. Cobet.

814 με[[ ]τ'α[λγει. Very probably crossed out γ in the text; thus μέγ' ἀλγει, as in HMBOAVLP. τ is offered as alternative reading, as Nauck conjectured and the scholia attest: μεταλγει<sup>νσ</sup> and ισ<sup>ηδ</sup>.

817 ν[μειε] HMBOAV: ήμειε LP.

821 Acute accent on second ι?

822 δε[ι]ξίξ[ι]ν HMAVLP: δείξαι BO.

825 in the OCT edition corresponds to *ὡ μοί μοι*, which does not seem to have stood on its own in one line in the papyrus. Below, nine lost lines allow for a different arrangement of the lyrics in the papyrus.

838 [. . .]. ξ'. ῥέξ' Burges: ἔρεξ' MBOAVLP: ἔρεξ' Stinton. ε is not certain, and traces could also be compatible with ρ.

ω MBOLP: á V: ή A.

840 τ[. τήνδ' MBOVLP: τήν A.

841 [τι] μοι ξιφ[οε MBOVLP: τὸ ξίφος A. Unexpected ink to the lower left of ο of μοι.

842 φ[. φίλος LP: φίλ' MBOAV: ἰλία Tr.

844 πλ[. πλαγάν MBOAVP: πληγάν L.

845 αλ]λ'. Above λ' there seems to be some ink; variant, stray or paraphrasis?

Page 2

↓

851

]ήλατο.

]ή τότ[ε]  
 ]..[

(c. 4 lines missing)

]..[

].....

860? ]...[ ].

]vac.

]vac.

864 επερ]αε[ν] ακτ[α]ε

]..

επη]νεσα

εξε]μαρτ[α]νεε

δει]μα[ινειε

]πόε[ιε

(10 lines missing)

880 ]..[

]..α[

τυρ]αννι[και ]..[

]η τίε ω[ν ]..[

Κλυτ]αιμ[νηετρ]α[ε το]κοε

885 ερχομ]αι δε πρ[οε Δι]οε

επ]εί δ' αφι[κ]ο[μ]ην

ξυγγ]ενοὺε μ[α]θε[ι]ν π[ε]ρι

κε]υτυχοὺε[α τυγ]χαυ[ει]

]..[ ]..[

890 ]εετ[ω] φίλη.

λι]μ[η]ν φα]νείε

851 Remains of ink to the right of ο; they do not seem to be compatible with ι (θεήλατοι MSS) unless the letter has been abraded almost entirely; further to the right there are more remains, belonging to a line-filler?

883 ]η τίε ω[ν: πυνθάνη τίε ὦν V<sup>3</sup>: τίε ὦν πυνθάνη MBOAVLP.

884 Κλυτ]αιμ[νηετρ]α[ε HMBOAVLP: Κλυταιμήετραε Wecklein.

το]κοε HMAVLP: γόνοε BO.

888 ]υτυχοε[. Γ or Ν seems to have been written above τ; Γ? above χ.

891 Dot below ε, to the right, for alignment?



Αγαμέμνονος  
 ποίαν περαίνων ἐλπίδι  
 και σοῦ γε παιδὸς παῖδι  
 κρυπτός καταστὰς ἢ κατα  
 1065 ἀγνοίης ἐν ἱερῶν ἄξιον [Δε]λφῶν [  
 οἴμοι τοδ' ἤδη δ[ε]ινόν. οὐχ [ο]σο[ν] τ[α]χ[ο]ς  
 χωρήσεται τ[ι]ς Πυθ[ι]κ[ή]ν προς [ε]στ[ι]αν  
 και τ[α]νθ[ά]δ[δ] ο[ν]τα το[ι]ς [ε]κεί φράσει φιλο[ι]ς  
 πρὶν[ ] . . . ἀνεῖν ἐχθ[ρ]ων

1070 Α[γ] ἰω μ[ο]ι . . .

(16 lines missing)

θέαι δ[ιδ]οντες  
 και τ[ου]θ  
 κύκλ[ου]ς  
 1090 Αγαμέμνονος  
 ε[κ] ους ε[κ]ά[κ]τωι . . .  
 ] τοῦτ[ον] ] ωαψ[.]  
 [χρυ]σοῦ γεμ[ον]τα θησαυρ[ου]ς βροτ[ων]  
 δ]έντερον παρ[ονθ] εφ[ο]ι[ς] και πάρος  
 1095 [δε]υρ' ἦλθε Φόιβ[ο]υ ναον εκ[π]έρσαι θέλω[ν]  
 [κα]κ[το]ν . . . ] . . . ] ον εν πόλει κακ[ον]

1063 σοῦ HMODAVLP: σῶι Lobeck. παῖδι: π seems to be a correction from another (triangular?) letter.

1066 The remains transcribed as a low stop are not very clear, but cf. 890, 1103 and 1108.

1067 προς [ε]στ[ι]αν HMODLP: ἀνὰ χθόνα AV (~V<sup>99</sup>).

1068 φράσει: λέξει MSS.

1070 ἰω μ[ο]ι LP and V<sup>2</sup>: ὄμοι HMODAV. Below ω, trace of an acute accent from the line below.

1087–91 Reconstruction of the text as preserved here has been difficult.

1087 θέαι. Remains of ink above α, to the right.

1091 ] . . . Read ]ονς at line-end? But traces could be compatible with almost any other characters.



1100

] . . . [

]πῶ πεπυσμένοι  
 ]τ' ἐφέσταμεν  
 μαντε]σίν τε Πυθικ[ο]ι[ς]  
 ε]π[εν] ω νε]ανία τι σοι  
 1105 κατευ]ξω[με]σθα τινοσ ἡκεισ χάριν  
 Φοι]βωι της πάρο[ι]θ] αμαρτίας  
 παρ]αχειν βουλο[με]σθ] ηιτιςα[  
 π]οτ αυτὸν αιμα[το]σ δι]κηην.  
 ] Ορέστου[ ] . . [

1110

] . [

(17 lines missing)

] π[ε]τρο[ι]ς.  
 σποδ]ομένωσ  
 1130 εμβο]λάσ.  
 [ε]κ[ει]σε ] . [

[α]λλ' ου[δ]εν ομ]ον [

οἰστροῖ [ αμ]φώβο[λοι]

1135 [σφ]αγῆς [ε]χωρουν βουποροι πο]δῶν πα[ρο]ς  
 [δει]να[κ] δ αν] εἰδε[κ] πυρριχας] φρουρουμε[νου]

[βελ]εμνα παιδοσ ω[κ] δε . . ]ν περ[ι]σταδογ  
 [κν]κλωι κατεῖχον ου [ ] . . ] προάσ

1100 Minimal traces above belonging to previous line.

1103 τε. There is some accidental (?) ink below vertical of τ. Πυθικ[ο]ι[ς] MODL and P<sup>2</sup>: πυθικῆσ AV(P?). The stop at line-end seems to be medial rather than low as the others in the text.

1105 κατευ]ξω[με]σθα: κατευξώμε(ς)θα MODP: -όμε(ς)θα AVL and Ψ<sup>γ</sup>.

1128 The ink at line-end, which I have interpreted as a stop, could also be accidental. Above this line, in right margin, (m. 2) ] . ο . ψ[.

1130 Accidental spot at the end of the line?

1134 [σφ]αγῆς Π<sup>7</sup>MOP and Ψ<sup>m</sup> and Ψ<sup>ν</sup>: σφαγῆσ AVL and Ψ<sup>γ</sup>.

1136 παιδοσ Π<sup>7</sup>AVP: ποδόσ MOL.

]ν: νν Π<sup>7</sup>L and V<sup>3</sup>: μν MOAVP.

1137 ] προάσ: ]απροάσ perhaps, as from ἀπροάσ (Π<sup>7</sup>)L, but ]μπροάσ, from ἀμπροάσ in UMODAVP, would also be possible.

4556. EURIPIDES, *HECUBA* 604-7

93/Dec.15/C.3  
 II<sup>6</sup> Diggle  
 M.-P. 388.3

3.3 × 4.4 cm

Third century

A badly damaged scrap of a roll written along the fibres in a not unprofessional, slowly written in a type of the Severe Style which might have been executed in the late second or third century. Care and sharpness of the angles, low almost-pointed saddle of  $\mu$ , long drooping left hand loop of  $\lambda$ , and minimal shading incline toward the earlier part of the third century. The writing is of medium size and the lines adequately spaced. No accents or other diacriticals; no opportunity to observe punctuation or elision or apostrophai, nor iota adscript or its absence.

The text, otherwise unremarkable where we can tell, is distinguished in offering what appears to have been an unattested reading in line 606 (see n.), in a passage suspected of being an interpolation.

On the back, indistinguishable traces; whether or not they are the same way up as the front cannot be determined, and possibly they are just offsets.

605  
 ] ταδε  
 ] ειργειν φ[χλον]  
 ]υ[.]ματ[  
 αναρ]χια

604 After ταδε there is a trace just below line-level at this point, probably stray ink, not punctuation.

606 Apparently a *varia lectio*, not reported in Diggle's edition. In the wide letter-space between  $\nu$  and  $\mu$  (where we would expect στρατε]υματ[ι], all ink (if there ever was any) has been swallowed by a hole. One is reluctant to think that the damage originally stood in the papyrus, i.e. that the scribe simply skipped over an existing hole from στρατε]υ- to -ματι, since the damage looks like normal wear and tear: it is of a piece with the other perforations in 605-6, which were clearly suffered after writing and not before (see e.g.  $\mu$  in 606). On the other hand, ]ματ[ encourages belief that we have a version of the transmitted 606 and not some other substitution or rearrangement of lines.

Assuming a word ending -υ[.]ματ[ι, one might imagine that a consonant stood before -ματι, e.g. -υματι or -υγματι (dittography of  $\mu$ , i.e. -μματι, would have left some trace of its legs on the surviving papyrus). The possibilities are not numerous. If the transmitted μυριων and the same basic phrasing preceded, one might think of κ(ε)υ]υ[γ]ματ[ι (but in tragedy only at Aesch. *Prom.* 158), or better κελε]υ[ε]ματ[ι (Soph. *Ant.* 1219, Eur. *Cycl.* 655, *Hec.* 929 κέλευσμα δ' ἦν κατ' ἄστν Τροίας τόδ', *Suppl.* 1155, *IT* 1405 cf. 320, *Hel.* 1602, *Hypsip.* fr. 13, fr. 65), rather than κηρ]υ[γ]ματ[ι (Soph. *Ant.* 8). Likelihood of variation here might be increased if 606-8 were, as Page (*Interpolations*) suspected (and as 831-2 certainly are), interpolated:

ἔν τοι μυρίων στρατεύματι  
 ἀκόλαστος ὄχλος ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία  
 κρείσσων πυρός, κακός δ' ὁ μή τι δρῶν κακόν.

i.e. an insertion by an actor, perhaps one who remembered Hdt. ii 89. Tierney (*Euripides Hecuba*, Dublin 1946,

ad loc.) notes that 608 recalls Thuc. iii 82, and that κρείσσων πυρός may be a reminiscence of Soph. *OT* 177, and ναυτική τ' ἀναρχία of *IA* 914. Aristotle calls the populace of the Piraeus ναυτικός ὄχλος (F. W. King, *Euripides' Hecuba*, London 1938, ad loc.). In defence of the lines' genuineness, however, it may be said that Hecuba elsewhere in this play declaims against the democracy in similar fashion (254-5 on demagogues, with Σ ad loc.). Eur. fr. 243.2 μυρίων στρατεύματος looks suspiciously similar, and might corroborate the Euripidean provenance of στρατεύματι in 606.

D. OBBINK

4557. EURIPIDES, *HECUBA* 651-69, 710-38, 742-73 (desunt 756-9)

26 3B.48/C(1-2)a  
 II<sup>7</sup> Diggle  
 M.-P. 388.4

12 × 24.3 cm

Second century

This tattered fragment contains parts of two columns from a papyrus roll. The first column extends from line 651 to 669 and the second from 710 to 773. At the foot of col. ii in the bottom margin, the same hand has copied line 762, which has been omitted from the main body of the text. In the same column, following line 738, the papyrus is broken and three lines have been lost, while lines 756-9 have been purposely omitted. This omission will be treated in a fuller discussion below. Allowing for uncertainties about omitted lines, and perhaps added lines, each column would seem to have contained c. 55 lines. The reconstructed second column has a height of about 21 cm. A little under 2.5 cm of blank papyrus forms the top margin, and the space between the columns is just under 2 cm at its narrowest point. On the back and across the fibres are traces of some documentary writing.

The text is written along the horizontal fibres of the roll in an extremely small hand, of a size more usually found in ancient commentaries than in pure literary texts. A similar hand is to be found in XXXII 2637, a commentary on choral lyric, assigned to the middle of the second century. XXX 2516, particularly small (a text of Antimachus) and the tiny, ornamental hand of XXXI 2535 (hypomnema) may also be cited. That in XXVIII 2483 (Hesiod, *Catalogue*) is similar in certain respects to the hand in the new Hecuba fragment, but is somewhat larger.

The text of the fragment is both carefully written and thoughtfully spaced out. The scribe appears to have striven to attain an almost perfect symmetry within the columns of writing. At the start of col. ii, the beginnings of lines 710 to 711 and 716 to 721 are inset further from the margin than those of the longer, trimeter lines. As far as can be judged, the same thing occurs with the ends of lines 651 to 652, in col. i. At line 710 the marginal abbreviation of the speaker of the line is correspondingly inset. Another point to be noted is the uneven spacing of the letters in lines 658 to 661. This may be an attempt to give the lines a uniform length and so render their arrangement as nearly symmetrical as possible. To consider it an indication of word division would make nonsense of the Greek.

Of the individual letters, the following may be said: ε is in most cases peculiarly large, particularly at the top of col. ii, where the first example of the letter is at least twice the size





- δαιμων εθηκεν [ο]στι[ς] εστι κοι β[αρ]υς  
 [α]λλ̄ ειςορω γαρ τουδ[ε] δεσ[ποτου] δ[ε]μας  
 725 [Αγ] [Αγ]αμειμονος τουνθε[νδε] ci]γω[μεν] φιλαι  
 [Εκ]αβη τι μελλεις [π]αιδα ς[ην κ]ρ[υπ]τ[ειν] ταφω  
 ελθο[υ]σα εφ̄ οισπερ Τ[α]λθυβιος ηγγε[ι]λε μοι  
 μη θινγανειν ςης μ[η]δενα Αργειω[ν] κορης  
 ημεις μεν ουν εωμ[εν] ο[υ]δ[ε]ψ[ι]ανομ[εν]  
 730 ςυ δε ςχολαζεις [ω]ςτ[ε] θ[α]υμαζ[ειν] ε[μ]ε  
 [η]κω [δ] απος[τε]λ[ω]ν [ς]ε τακει[θ]εν γαρ ευ  
 [π]ε[πρ]αγμεν [ε]ςτιν̄ ε[ι] τι των[δ] ε[ς]τιν̄ καλως  
 [εα] τιν̄ ανδρα τ[ο]ν[δ] ε[π]ι κηναισ̄ ορω  
 [θανοντ]α Τρωων [ου γαρ Αργειων πεπλοι  
 735 [δεμα]ς περιπτυσ[σοντες] αγγελλουσι μοι  
 [δυστην] εμα[υ]τ[ην] γαρ λεγω λεγουσα ςε  
 [Εκαβη] τι δρας[ω] ποτερα προσπεσω γουυ  
 [Αγαμεμ]νονο[ς] τουδ̄ η φερω ςιγη κακα  
 (739 to 741 lost)  
 742 [γο]γατ[ων] απως[αιτ] [αλγος] αν προσθειμεθ̄ αν  
 [ου]τοι π[ε]φ[υκα] μα[υ]τ[ι]ς̄ ωστε μη κλυων  
 [εξ]̄ ιστορησα[ι] ω[ν] οδογ̄ [βουλευματων]  
 745 [α]ρ̄ εκλογιζ[ο]μαι γε πρ[ος] το δυσμενεσ̄  
 μαλλον φρεγας τουδ̄ ον[τος] ουχι δυσμενεος  
 ει τ[ο]ι με βου[λη] τ[ων]δε μ[η]δεν̄ ειδεναι  
 εις [τ]αυτον η[κει]ς̄ κ[α]ι [γα]ρ ο[υ]δ̄ εγω κλυειν  
 [ο]υ[κ] α[ν] δ[υναι]μ[η]ν̄ το[υ]δ̄ ε[μ]ωρειν̄ ατερ  
 750 [τεκνοι]σι τοις ε[μ]οι[σι] τι ς[τ]ρεφ[ω] ταδε  
 [τολμαν] αναγκ[η] κ[αν] τ[υ]χω κ[αν] μη τυχω  
 [Αγαμεμνον] ι[κε]τευω ςε τω[νδε] γουνατων  
 [και] σου γενειου[ς] δεξιας τ̄ ε[υ]δα[ι]μονος  
 [τι] χρημα μα[ς] τευουσα μω[ν] ελευθερον  
 755 [αιωνα] θε[ς]θ[αι] ραδιον γαρ ε[ς]τι κοι  
 760 [ορα]ς νεκ[ρο]ν τ[ο]νδ̄ οῡ κα[τα]σταζω̄ δακρυ  
 761 [ορω] το μ[εν]το[ι] μελλ[ο]ν̄ [ουκ] εχω μαθειν̄  
 763 [εστιν] δε τ[ι]ς ςω[ν] ουτος̄ ω̄ τ[η]μ̄ον̄ τεκνων  
 [ου των] θανοντω[ν] Πριαμιδ[ω]ν̄ π[ι]λιω

- 765 [η γαρ τιν̄ αλλ̄]ογ̄ ετ[ε]κες η κεινους γυναι  
 [ανοητα] γ̄ ως εο[ικε] τονδ̄ ον̄ ειςορας  
 [που] δ̄ ων̄] ετυγχαν̄ [ηνικ] ωλλυ[το] [πτολις]  
 [πατηρ] νιν̄] εξεπεμψεν̄ ορρωδων̄ [θανειν]  
 [ποι των] τοτ̄] οντων̄ χωρισας̄ [τεκνων] μονον  
 770 [ε]ς τηνδε̄ χ[ω]ραν̄ ο[υ]περ̄ ευρ[ε]θ[η] θανων  
 [προς] ανδ[ρ]ος̄ αρχεῑ τηςδ̄ ε[ε] Π[ο]λυμ[η]ςτωρ̄ χθονος  
 [ενταυθ̄] επεμ[φ]θ[η] πικροτα[τ]οῡ χρυ[σου] φυλαξ̄  
 [θνησκει] δε προς τ[ου] και τινος̄ π[ο]τμοῡ τυχων̄

The marginal line:

- 762 [τουτον] ποτ̄ ετεκο[ν] καῑ εφερον̄ ζω[ν]ης υπο

Col. i

655 δρυπτε[ι]τα[ι] παρ[ε]ι[αυ] MBOLRSaZZcT: δρύπτεται τε AFGKPPaξZm and Zc<sup>1c</sup>: δέ V. However, the papyrus traces are so indeterminate that τε/δέ could easily fit in. Diggle adopts τε and posits a lacuna after it 'quoniam τε, quamquam numeros corrumpit, vix abesse potest; suppleueris e.g. τ' (ἀθλίαν) vel τε (δίπτυχον)'.

656 σπαραγμοίς is absent; σπαραγμοίς is best explained as a gloss, taken over from the scholia, which read: δρύπτεται δέ παρειάν· οἰονεὶ ξαίνει τὴν ἑαυτῆς παρειάν τιθεμένη ἐν τοῖς σπαραγμοῖς ὄνυχά δίαμιον.

658 There is no other authority for ποῖ. ποῦ ποθ' is frequently used in tragedy in questions of this type, and is to be preferred. Unexplained traces above end of line.

662 μοι Herwerden: σου codd.

663 γάρ: δέ MSS.

665 [υ]περ Ω and X<sup>m</sup> Z<sup>77p</sup> Zc<sup>m</sup> Zm<sup>c</sup>: ὑπο Zm and B<sup>3</sup> and Zb: ἀπο FPPaSaVξZZcT<sup>3</sup> and B<sup>37p</sup>O<sup>1c</sup>A<sup>2</sup>.

Col. ii

709 εμ[ο]ς εμος: just once in OPaSaξZ.

713 ομοι: ὄμοι Pξ. λεξίς: λέγεις L (~L<sup>2</sup>) and A<sup>5</sup> F<sup>8</sup> K<sup>5</sup> Pa<sup>5</sup> ξ<sup>5</sup>.

714 In this line elision is marked. This only occurs elsewhere in the fragment in 771, although syllables are frequently elided, as in 724, 727. In many places where the strictures of space make it clear that elision of syllables took place, the papyrus is too badly damaged to tell whether or not the apostrophe was used to mark elision. In other instances, *scriptio plena* is to be found, as for example in line 715, and again in line 727, where it is seen alongside an example of elision.

In ἀωνόμαστα the papyrus has the orthographically correct form of the word, and not the unmetrical ἀωνόμαστα AG.

715 [ο]α[ι] (scriptio plena in pap.): ὄσα M (~M<sup>3</sup>): ὄσια τ' GK: ὄσια γ' Z and T<sup>3</sup>.

716 ω ΩξξT<sup>3</sup>: ὦ A and T<sup>2</sup> and Ξ<sup>3</sup>.

718 *ειδαρεω*(ι) BOAKPaSaξξT<sup>2</sup> and L<sup>2</sup>; the Doric form *ειδαρέω* preferable to *ειδηρέω* Ω and Zm<sup>8</sup> in Hecuba's laments.

720 οικ[ι]ς: ὠικτίσας ΩξξT<sup>2</sup>: οἰκτίσας PaRξ and M<sup>4</sup>F<sup>4</sup>T<sup>3</sup>: οἰκτίσας M: ἐποικτίσας fere GK and Sa<sup>7p</sup>.

724 τουδ[ε]: τοῦ PaZm (~ Pa<sup>c</sup>Zm<sup>1c</sup>): τοῦτο Va: τοῦ γε Va<sup>4</sup>.

729 εωμ[εν] is suggested by space, in accord with MSS: εἰώμεν Nauck. Traces and spacing suggest ο[υ]δ[ε]ψ[ι]ανομ[εν] but do not decide the articulation: οὐδὲ ψαύομεν Ω: οὐδ' ἐψαύομεν Bothe. It probably did not read οὐδὲ θάψομεν with Sa<sup>7p</sup>.

743 ου[τοι]: οὔτι R and Zm<sup>1c</sup>.

745 γε: τε Va: om. R.

747 τ[ο]ι MBOPaξT<sup>z</sup> and Va<sup>1c</sup>Zm<sup>1c</sup>: τι Ωζ (unmetrical). Again the better of the two readings is attested by the papyrus.

756-9. See introduction. 756-9 om. **4557**, **4558** and probably **4559**: MBOFGKRT<sup>z</sup> omit 756-8 and have 759 (but B<sup>2m</sup> Γ<sup>2m</sup> G<sup>m</sup> K<sup>m</sup>Γ<sup>m</sup> have added 756-8 and F has them after 779): RfRw omit 756-7 and have 758-9 (but Rf<sup>r</sup> adds 756-7, and Rw<sup>m</sup> 756): ALPPaSaVaξζ present 756-9. Nauck deleted 756-8; Hartung, 759: Diggle deleted 756-7 and printed 759-8 in this order (Hirzel had already used that order, suggesting a lacuna after 757).

761 μαθεῖν MFALPPaξζT<sup>z</sup> and O<sup>pp</sup>: φράσαι Ω and Z<sup>pp</sup>ZM<sup>pp</sup>.

762 και εφερον: κἄφερον MSS.

764 ν]π: ἐν O<sup>Sa</sup> and F<sup>z</sup>Xa<sup>s</sup> and Xb<sup>s</sup>.

770 ευρ[ε]θ[η]: ἠύρεθη MSS. In Attic inscriptions, the augmented form is normal in the Classical period, exceptional from the 1st century BC (Threatte II 483). In Roman documents ευ- is the norm (Gignac II 240).

D. HUGHES

A. NODAR

**4558.** EURIPIDES, *HECUBA* 709-22, 746-61 (desunt 756-9), 782-94, 816-27

65 6B.37/D(1-3)b

9 × 10.5 cm

Late sixth century

A fragment possibly from the upper half of a bifolium from a papyrus codex. On each side only line-ends to the left and line-beginnings to the right are preserved. The space across the spine is approximately 3 cm. If the fragment comes from the top of the bifolium, then on → the right-hand column will have had 708-44 (32 lines as set out in Diggle's OCT); on ↓, the left-hand column will have had 745-81 (om. 756-9) = 33 lines, the right-hand column 782-815 = 34 lines. 816 ff. form the left-hand column on →. The four columns are consecutive and constitute the inner bifolium of the quire, laid with vertical fibres uppermost, one column to each page. General conclusions about column height and codex dimensions are still valid even if the piece belongs lower down the sheet. The c. 33 lines per column would have resulted in a height of approximately 21 cm, the page being about 25 cm high if we allow for upper and lower margins of 2 cm. Considering that ↓ col. ii—the best preserved one in the papyrus—has only about a sixth of the line length in 791-4, measuring about 2 cm, then the full line-length should be c. 12 cm. Adding 3 cm to allow for both the inner and outer margin, we would have a page breadth of c. 15 cm. These measurements, c. 15 × 25 cm, would place our codex in Turner's group 7 (*Typology* 18) where there are a few other instances from the fifth and sixth centuries.

The hand is representative of the sloping pointed majuscule, showing features suggesting a date later than that proposed for **4555**. The arms of κ are detached from the vertical, ο is very narrow (cf. P. Ant. III 157 and XV **1818**, nos. 23a and 23b respectively in *GBEPP*). This hand compares with that in P. Clair. Masp. 67175 (no. 33b in *GBEPP*), assigned to the middle or second half of the sixth century. However, our hand, whilst not entirely lacking any kind of ornament (cf. long flourish on upper stroke of c in 746), is less formal and less careful in its execution; cf. the almost cursive π, in one movement, in 818. It is very similar to the hand of XI **1374** (42b in *GBEPP*), assigned to the late sixth century;

lines there, as here, slant upwards, which affects the impression of bilinearity. Narrow ε and minimal shading are shared features of both papyri, suggesting the late sixth century (see *GBEPP* p. 92) as a probable date for **4558**.

No punctuation or reading marks, except for paragraphoi marking change of speaker, diaeresis in 711 and a double point at the end of 753. Abbreviations of the names of characters have been written to the left of the column in, apparently, a different hand, or at least a paler ink different from the faded brown ink used for the main text and the paragraphoi. Elision has been effected, but not marked, in 787. Due to the very bad condition of the papyrus surface, we cannot know precisely what the situation was in lines 818 (where, however, elision seems to have been effected) and 819. No possible cases for iota adscript to be written. A superscript correction seems to be present in 818.

The papyrus overlaps at 710-22 with **4557**; at 747-8, 750-1 it overlaps with **4559**. The papyrus supports the hitherto unique variant of Π<sup>7</sup> (**4557**) in excluding 756-9, cf. **4559**.

→

Page 1

top?

[

Θε̄ρ̄ τ[ι]c

710 Εκαβ̄ ε[μ]oc

iv̄ [

[X]̄ οi[μ]oi

Εκαβ̄ αρ[ρη]τ

715 ουχ̄ο[ci

[

. [

. [

721 X<sup>o</sup> ω τλ[η]μou

δα[μ]ων

. . .

↓

Page 2

top?

].

746 δυ[μ]εν]ouc

ειδεν]αι

κλυ]ειν

Page 3

top?

Εκαβ̄ θ[α]λα]ζσο[πλα]γκτον

Αγα<sup>u</sup> ω [c]χετλ[ια

Εκαβ̄ ολω]λα και [

785 Αγα<sup>u</sup> φ̄εν φ̄ε[υ

	ατε]ρ	Εκαβ	ουκ ες[τιν
750 <sup>2</sup>	] . .		αλλ ω[νπερ
	]τυχω		ακου[σον
	γουν]ατων		ετε[ργοιμ
	ευδαιμ]ονος:	790	τ[ιμωρος
	ελευθε]ρον		ο[ε ο]υτε[
755	ε]ρι		δεια[ε
760	δ]ακρυ		κοινη[ε
761	μα]θε[ιν]		ξενη[αε

→

Page 4

	top?
	] μονη[ν]
	επουδα]ζομ[εν]
	]ιν η' ποτε
819	τυγχαν]ειν δ αμα
	* (two lines lost)
	οιχο]μαι
	(one line lost)
	το]δε
825	ειρηε]εται
	κοιμιζετ]αι
	Φ]ρ[υγ]εε

Page 1

- 708 Our papyrus attributes the line to the *θεράπαινα*, supporting Ω2XXbζT<sup>2</sup> and V<sup>2</sup>: χο. AFGRSVXa.  
 713 οι[μοι: ωμοι Pξ.  
 714-5 Sa and T attribute these lines to the chorus.  
 722 Unexplained marginal mark.

Page 2

- 756-9 **4557** omits 756-9, and spacing suggests that **4559** omitted them too: MBOFGKRT<sup>2</sup> omit 756-8 and have 759 (but B<sup>2m</sup>F<sup>2m</sup>G<sup>m</sup>K<sup>m</sup>T<sup>m</sup> have added 756-8 and F has them after 779): RfRw omit 756-7 and have 758-9 (but Rf<sup>2</sup> adds 756-7, and Rv<sup>m</sup>756): ALPPaSaVaξξ present 756-9. Nauck deleted 756-8; Hartung, 759: Diggle deleted 756-7 and edited 759-8 in this order (Hirzel had already used that order, suggesting a lacuna after 757).  
 761 μα]θε[ιν] MFALPPajzT<sup>2</sup> and O<sup>pp</sup>: φράσαι Ω and Z<sup>pp</sup>ZM<sup>pp</sup>.

Page 3

- 784 και [: κοὐδὲν codd.  
 793 Nauck deleted 793-7 (Matthiae had already deleted 794-5, and Dindorf 794-7).

Page 4

- 818 η' : The surface is very badly damaged; η itself is dubious, and nothing can be said with certainty about the superscript letter. η' Ωξξ and M<sup>2</sup>B<sup>2</sup>T<sup>2</sup>: ε' PaVaT<sup>2</sup> and gV: MB do not preserve a clear reading: η' Elmsley.  
 819 τυγχαν]ειν with the majority of MSS against τυγχανη O and gV.  
 δ: θ' codd.

A. NODAR

**4559. EURIPIDES, HECUBA 739-51, 768-87**

18 2B.66/F(2-3)b

9 x 26 cm

Fourth century

P<sup>2</sup> Diggle

M.-P. 389.1

A single column from a papyrus roll written along the fibres in a formal book hand. The back is blank. 739-73 have been written further to the right than 774-87, perhaps displaced to the right by the ends of the choral lines at 681-704, assuming that these stood opposite in the preceding column and perhaps in a different colometry from the medieval MSS.

The hand is a later mixed ('Severe Style') type with an inclination to the right, enhanced shading, and some decoration (hook on apex of α, Δ, λ, decorative finials on top of left upright of μ, ν, and arms of γ). Diminutive ο, as in the 'Severe Style', but enlarged ε, of the Biblical Uncial variety, i.e. wider than the oval bowl of the narrower ε; compressed φ with pointed sides. A parallel is provided by XI **1358**, Hesiod, *Catalogue* (= Cavallo-Maehler, *GBEBP* 1b, early iv, assigned on the basis of third-century accounts on the recto).

Elision is clearly effected and marked with apostrophe in 779 *πονουε'* (probably by the same scribe, but squeezed in later), the only place where we would have expected it except for 741 and 748 where the scribe definitely elided, but I cannot tell if he marked it. There is no opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written.

Bottom margin is preserved. If the narrow strip of blank papyrus at top shows a top margin (rather than simply abrasion), the columns contained about 48 lines. At this rate the play would have run to some thirty columns, of which this would have been about the fourteenth. Column height 22.5 cm, with trimeters running to about 10 cm. Preserved bottom margin at least 2 cm. Few reading marks, no accents. No preserved speaker or section divisions.

The text is generally eclectic and unremarkable, but virtually error-free, and it gives ancient attestation for a good variant in 740, adopted by Diggle, and probably it omitted 756-9 as do **4557-8**. The papyrus overlaps at 739-40 with VI **876**; at 742-51 it overlaps with **4557**; at 746-51, 782-7 it overlaps with **4558**; and at 768-84 it overlaps with **4560**.

[τι μοι προσωπωι νωτον εγκλινασα] κον  
 740 [δυρηι το πραχθεν δ ου λε]γεις [τις εσθ] οδε  
 [αλλ ει με δουλην πολεμ]ιαν θ η[γο]υμενο[ς]  
 [γονατων απωσαιτ α]λγος αν προσθειμ[εθ αν]  
 [ουτοι πεφυκα μαντι]ς ω[στε] μη κλυω[ν]  
 [εξιςτορησαι των οδο]ν βου[λευματ]ων  
 745 [αρ εκλογιζομαι γε προς το] δ[υ]ς[μενε]ς  
 [μαλλον φρενας τουδ οντ]ος ουχι δυσμεν[ους]  
 [ει τοι με βουληι τωνδ]ε [μη]δεν ει[δε]να[ι]  
 [εσ ταυτον ηκεισ και] χα[ρ ο]υδ εγω κλυε[ιν]  
 [ουκ αν δυναιμην του]δε τιμωρειν [ατερ]ρ  
 750 [τεκνοισι τοις εμοισι τι ετρ]εφ[ω] ταδε  
 [τολμαν αναγκη καν τ]υχ[ω] καν μη τυ[χω]  
 (752–5 missing)  
 (756–9 omitted)  
 760 δ]ακρ[υ]  
 (761–6 missing)  
 ]...[  
 768 [πατηρ νιν εξεπεμψεν ορρω]δων [θανειν]  
 [ποι των τοτ οντων χωρι]ς[α]ς πα[ιδων] μονων  
 770 [εσ τηνδε χωραν ουπερ ηυρεθ]η θαν[ων]  
 [προς ανδρ ος αρχει τηςδε Πο]λυμη[ς]τ[ω]ρ χ[θονος]  
 [ενταυθ επεμφθη πικροτατου χ]ρυσου φυλα[ξ]  
 [θνησκει δε προς του και τινο]ς ποτμου τυ[χων]  
 [τινος γ υπ αλλου Θρηξ]η νιν [ωλεσε ξενο]ς  
 775 [ω τλημον η που χρ]υσο[ν] ηρα[ςθη] λα]βειν  
 [τοιαυτ επειδη κυμφορ]αν .γω .[  
 [ηυρες δε που νιν η] τις ηνεγκεν νεκρον  
 [ηδ εντυχουσα πο]ντιας ακτης επι  
 [τουτον ματευου]ς η πονου[ς] αλλον [πο]νον  
 780 [λουτρ ωιχετ οικου]ς εξ] αλος Πολυξενη[  
 [κτανων νιν ως εοι]κεν εκβαλλει ξε[νος]  
 [θαλασσοπλαγκτον γ] ωδε διατεμων [χρο]α

[ω χητλια συ των α]μετρητων ποιων  
 [ολωλα κουδεν λοιπ]ον Αγαμεμνον κακ .[.]  
 785 [φευ φευ τις ουτω δυσ]τυχης εφυ γυνη  
 [ουκ εστιν ει μη την] Τυχην αυτην λεγο[ις]  
 [αλλ ωνπερ ουνεκ] αμφι σ[ον] πιπτω γογ[υ]

740 πραχθεν ΩξΖΤ<sup>2</sup>Β<sup>3</sup>: κραθεν ΓγρΚ<sup>c</sup>: κραθεν Π<sup>1</sup>ΒΚ. πραθεν is printed by Diggle, citing D. Bain, *Actors and Audience* 14 n. 1.

742 προσθειμ[ι] pap., ΩξΖΖςΤ<sup>2</sup>Ζm<sup>c</sup>: -θώ- G: -θεί- Va: -θημ- Sa.

752–9 Spacing shows that no more than four of these lines can have been present in the papyrus' text. Presumably 756–9 were omitted as in 4557–8, corroborating the suspicion that these lines were in fact absent in at least one branch of the ancient tradition. In the medieval tradition, 756–9 are present in ALPPaSaVaξξ. But MBOFGKRT<sup>2</sup> omit 756–8 (which are added in some of these), while RfRw omit 756–7. Problems with these lines have long been suspected. Diggle deletes 756–7 as spurious, keeping 758–9 as authentic but printing them in reverse order. Nauck deleted 756–8, Hartung 759.

760 δ]ακρ[υ]: on a fragile twisted piece connecting the upper and lower halves of the fragmentary column.

761–7 Scattered specks only.

769 πα[ιδων] pap., GKR: τέκνων Ω, printed by Diggle.

771 Πο]λυμη[ς]τ[ω]ρ pap., ΩΧΧvΖΤ<sup>2</sup>: -τορα FLPaRSVaXaZcZmB<sup>2</sup>Z<sup>2</sup>.

774 At this point the lines shift unexpectedly to the left, in the middle of Hecuba's and Agamemnon's stichomythia. Since this *ekthesis* cannot mark a structural division or metrical shift in the play, I suppose rather that 739–73 above were written in *aisthesis* to accommodate the layout of the preceding column. But why did the scribe not move out to the left earlier, immediately after the choral lines give way to trimeters in the previous column?

776 After -ρ]αν the papyrus offers an upright to the far right in a wide letter space, as of ν, then apparently ρω, where we would expect εγνω before Φρυγών. The trace following ρω could be the lower left quadrant of a circle, compatible with φ. A hypothesis is that the scribe transposed γ and ν, writing -ρ]αν [ε]ργω Φ[ρυγων], although the space for [ε] would be very tight.

778 ακτης pap., Ω, printed by Diggle: ἀκτις OZ<sup>2</sup>ρ: ἀλός LPZ.

784 The papyrus offers no way of deciding at line end, where the tradition is divided between κακών (ΩξΖςΖmT<sup>2</sup>A<sup>1</sup>K<sup>1</sup>cZ<sup>1</sup>c, printed by Diggle) and κακόν (AKLZς<sup>2</sup>Zm<sup>2</sup>T<sup>1</sup>).

785 εφυ pap., ΩM<sup>1</sup>cK<sup>1</sup>cI<sup>1</sup>c, printed by Diggle: εφη MAL.

786 λεγο[ις] pap., MBAGLRK<sup>c</sup>, printed by Diggle: λέγεις ΩξΖΤ<sup>2</sup>L<sup>1</sup>c Eust. in Il. p. 651.29: λέγεις Va<sup>2</sup>.

D. OBBINK

#### 4560. EURIPIDES, HECUBA 765–84

48 5B.26/G(a)  
 Π<sup>2</sup> Diggle  
 M.–P. 389.2

6 × 11 cm

Late second/third century

This fragment from a roll preserves the ends of twenty lines and a minimum 2 cm of the intercolumnium. It is possible that line 765 is the top line of the column. The text is written along the fibres. Column width could be c. 12 cm. The hand belongs to the Severe Style, especially μ and flat-bottomed ω; there is some shading, especially in μ, γ, κ, and π. There are some ligatures (γν in 765, γω in 776) and also some variations in the execution

of the letters (see ε, γ, ο; ο tends to be written fairly fast and its execution ranges from oval and quick to a round and careful form). However, the scribe writes the capitals most of the time separately and carefully: μ is in three strokes, deep and rounded; ζ is of book-hand type, while τ is in two strokes with a continuous upper stroke. ω has a very shallow bowl. There is a mixture of narrow letters (ε θ ο c) and broad letters (α κ μ ν π). Furthermore, a combination of round or oval curves (μ ω ν θ ο and occasionally c and ε) with pointed angles (α κ) can be observed. Similar hands are Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27; Schubart, *GP*, Abb. 84, and Roberts, *GLH* 19b.

Iota adscript is not written. No accents, breathings, quantity marks or punctuation are in evidence. The papyrus overlaps at 772 with **4557**; at 768–84 it overlaps with **4559**.

On the back, across the fibres and the other way up, are parts of twenty-nine much damaged lines in a small rapid semi-cursive hand, to be assigned to the third century; publication of this is reserved for a later volume.

- 765 [η γαρ τιν αλλον ετεκες η κεινους] γυναι[ι]  
 [ανονητα γ ως εοικε τονδ ον ε]ιζορα[ις]  
 [που δ ων ετυγχαν ηνικ ωλλυτο] πτολις  
 [πατηρ νιν εξεπεμφεν ορρωδω]ν θανειν  
 [ποι των τοτ οντων χωρισας τεκν]ων μονον  
 770 [εε τηνδε χωραν ουπερ ηυρεθη θα]νων  
 [προς ανδρ ος αρχει τηςδε Πολυμ]ηστωρ χθον[ος]  
 [ενταυθ επεμφθη πικροτατου χ]ρυσου φυλα[ξι]  
 [θνησκει δε προς του και τινος ποτ]μου τυχων  
 [τινος γ υπ αλλου Θρηξ νιν ωλεσε] ξενος  
 775 [ω τλημον η που χρυσον ηρασθη λα]βειν  
 [τοιαυτ επειδη κυμφοραν εγνω] Φρυγω[ν]  
 [ηυρες δε που νιν η τις ηνεγκεν ν]εκρον  
 [ηδ εντυχουσα ποντιας ακτης ε]πι  
 [τουτον ματευους η πονους αλλο]ν πονον  
 780 [λουτρ ωιχετ οικους εξ αλος Πολυ]ξενη  
 [κτανων νιν ως εοικεν εκβαλλε]ι ξενος  
 [θαλασσοπλαγκτον γ ωδε διατεμω]ν χροα  
 [ω χρετλια κυ των αμετρητων πο]νων  
 [ολωλα κουδεν λοιπον Αγαμεμνον κακω]ν

767 πτολις: rightly with M and B, two of the best medieval MSS, and also with PPaξZZcG<sup>2</sup>Zm<sup>16</sup> and T'. As far as T' is concerned, Matthiessen gives line 767 as an example showing that Triklinios did not depend on

the tradition 'sondern auch aus eigenen Kraft die einfachste Emendation finden mochte' (K. Matthiessen, *Studien zur Textüberlieferung der Hekabe des Euripides*, Heidelberg 1974, 105). The papyrus here preserves the correct reading against the unmetrical πόλις preserved by ΩZm and T<sup>2</sup>.

769 τεκν]ων: or παιδ]ων with **4559** and GKR? τέκνων rell.

771 Πολυμ]ηστωρ: the papyrus here agrees with Ω and T<sup>2</sup> (although it did not agree with them in 767), XXbZ. Contrary to Diggle, Daitz in his apparatus criticus says that L attests Πολυμηστωρ.

778 ακτης ε]πι is probable (with **4559**) but I cannot exclude αλος ε]πι, the reading of LPZ.

V. GIANOPOULOU

**4561.** EURIPIDES, *HECUBA* 1252–70

15 2B.32/B(a)  
 P<sup>10</sup> Diggle  
 M.–P. 390.1

5.2 × 10.7 cm

Third century

This fragment joins VI **877**, and supplies the middles of E. *Hec.* 1252–70, of which the beginnings (1252–69 plus parts of 1271–80) are preserved in **877** (P<sup>2</sup> Diggle; pl. XVIII in Donovan, *Euripides Papyri*). In Bouquiaux-Simon and Mertens (*Pap. Lup.* 1 (1992) 99 and Diggle's edition the two papyri are listed as separate MSS, M.–P.<sup>3</sup> 390 and 390.1 = P<sup>2</sup> and P<sup>10</sup>), which are now seen to be from the same MS. Diggle's edition does not take into account lines 1252–55 and 1270 in **4561**, and its reports of one or both of the two papyri failing to attest a reading can in most cases be eliminated. According to W. Luppe, *APF* 37 (1991) 79, the two are 'offenbar ohne textkritische Bedeutung', but see below.

Written across the fibres; the other side is blank. This, together with the fact that the lines come from very near the end of the play (which ends at 1295), suggests that this is the first side of the last leaf of a codex (or of the last leaf before the beginning of another play, if this was a multi-work codex) with its other side left blank (contra: Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* 80). Moreover there is a fold running diagonally from upper right to lower left, typical of the corners of codex pages. An additional 15 lines after the end of **877** (i.e. after line 1280) will have been required to reach the end of the play; these must have been written as a continuation of the present column, since the back of **877** (which shows the top of the page) is blank. (On the absence of verse books written in double-column format, see Turner, *Typology* 35.) Thus the page held at least 45 lines, and more if the play text were followed by a colophon giving name of author and/or title.

To judge from the adjoining **877**, there were no marginal indications of speakers, but paragraphoi are used to indicate change of speaker in this passage of stichomythia. Diaeresis occurs in 1257 and 1263; otherwise, there is no evidence of punctuation, breathings, accents or critical signs. In two respects the scribe's procedure is inconsistent. Iota adscript is written in 1260 ναυστολησχη and 1276 αυτωι, but omitted in 1265 [γ]σησχη and 1272 επωδον. Elision is effected at 1259, 1268, 1275, 1276, 1277 (but never marked), yet at 1257, 1265, 1266 *scriptio plena* is written. Iotacistic orthography is exhibited in 1258 (τεμ[ωρουμενην]). In 1263 ανβη[χη] has been written for ἀμβήχη.

The stylish hand is angular and spiky and slopes slightly to the right. It shows limited





1270 ] [ prima facie a high tight bowl or hook directly below the *a* of *ποτ' ἄν* in 1269, possibly the left end of the upper stroke of a *z*, which we would expect from the transmitted *ῆ ζώε'* at this position in 1270. This trace cannot be from any part of 1271 (assuming 1270 to have dropped), because the corresponding words at this position are fully preserved on 877.

Additional notes on 877:

1271 *ω*[ι BAGLZZCT<sup>2</sup>K<sup>1</sup>R<sup>3</sup>V<sup>2</sup>, and accepted by Diggle: *ὄν ΩξΖmG<sup>2</sup>Z<sup>2</sup>T<sup>1</sup>*. The papyrus here sides with one of the two main MS families (ABL) against the other (MVPO).

1272 The papyrus does not substantiate Nauck's emendation *ἐπώνυμόν τι*.

The reading of 877 *μ*[ (top and bottom of an upright connected at top to the rounding saddle of *μ* which continues half-way, ruling out *η*), supplemented by Grenfell and Hunt to read *μ[ῆ] τι*, is an original reading here, accepted by Diggle and defended by him in *Studies on the Text of Euripides* (1981) 120: *ῆ ΩξΖT<sup>2</sup>Σ<sup>ν</sup>*. Grenfell and Hunt regarded *μῆ τι* as 'a doubtful improvement on the mss. reading'.

1274 *μ*[ελεῖ Ω: *μ*[ελλει FRT<sup>2</sup> (~T<sup>2c</sup>).

*γ*έμοι Ω, accepted by Diggle: *γ' ἐμοὶ* SaSZB. The scribe's inconsistent procedure in the treatment of elision makes the papyrus indecisive.

1275 *Κακα[νδραν AGLRSVZcZmTz: Κακάνδραν ΩZ*, accepted by Diggle.

1276 *αντωι Ω*, accepted by Diggle: *ἀτῶν* PSa. See 1267 n.: unlike there, the papyrus does not here agree with Sa in an unusual variant. The same is true at 1257.

After *αντωι* there is room for *κοι* but not for *ταῦτα* which precedes *κοι* in the MSS, probably a mechanical omission, which however makes it uncertain whether the line ended *ε*[*χεῖν* as transmitted.

1279 877 may have read *γε* with LYn. But as Grenfell and Hunt note, the trace is insufficient to rule out *ce*, *δε* and *τε* which are also variously transmitted here.

E. MADISON

#### 4562. EURIPIDES, *HERCULES* 32–40

81 2B.85/10(a)

2 × 4.5 cm

Late second/third century

Fragment from a book roll. The back is blank except for possible offsets. Written along the fibres, the fine small hand is neat and careful. There is a more marked than usual contrast between large, wide letters (*α*, *γ*, *Δ*, *η*, *κ*, *ν*, *π*, *τ*, *φ*) and tiny, narrow letters floating near the top line (*ε*, *ο*, *ς*, *ω*). There is occasional decoration. For the cursive *ξ* in a bookhand cf. VI 852 (Euripides, *Hypsipyle*, otherwise in a quite different style). The hand is extraordinarily similar to XXX 2529 (a codex: plates 3, 13) and may well be the work of the same writer. We cannot believe that 2529 can be as late as the fourth-century date assigned to it by Lobel.

Column width by calculation, assuming no major textual discrepancies, c. 10 cm; height unknown. There is no opportunity to observe punctuation, if there was any. Elision is apparently effected tacitly in 34 (and so transcribed in 35, but the papyrus is broken immediately after *τ*), but apparently not effected in 40 (see n.). There is no opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written.

The papyrus provides a unique but trivial variant (*επειε-*) in 34. In 40, the papyrus shows *ε* before *ώε*, preceded by a possible *τ*, which, if correct, would confirm a correction proposed by Canter.

[Καδμειος ουκ ων αλλ απ] Εὔβο[ιας μολων]  
 [κτεινει Κρεοντα κ]αι κτανων [αρχει χθονος]  
 [στασει νοκουσαν την]δ̄ επειεπ[εσων πολων]  
 35 [ημιν δε κηδος ες Κρ]εοντ [ανημμενον]  
 [κακον μεγαστον ως] εοικε γι[γνεται]  
 [τουμου γαρ οντος π]αιδος ε[ν μυχοις χθονος]  
 [ο καινος ουτος της]δε γης α[ρχων Λυκος]  
 [τους Ηρακλειους παι]δας εξ[ελεω θελει]  
 40 [κτανων δαμαρτα] τε ως φο[νωι βεσечи φονον]

34 The manuscripts read unproblematically *επεεσών*, accepted by editors. Since *-επ-* make position, the choice between reading *επεε-* with the MSS or *επειε-* with the papyrus will not be determined by metre. Most likely *εις* is a Koine spelling which has crept into the text.

40 *τε*: or possibly *γε*. As transmitted in the medieval MSS, the text is unmetrical: a stop is wanted to block elision after *δάμαρτα* (L: *δάμαρτ' Tr<sup>1</sup>*). Canter proposed *θ<sup>2</sup>*. If read as *τε*, the papyrus would confirm Canter's correction (i.e. *θ<sup>2</sup> ώε* written in *scriptio plena* as *τε ώε*). It is true that 34 would lead us to expect the scribe to elide here, but his practice may simply have been inconsistent. *γε* could be contemplated, but *τε* gives better sense by linking *δάμαρτα* to *κάμ'* in 41 ('to annihilate Heracles' children by killing both his wife and me'). *γε* would place undue emphasis on *δάμαρτα*.

T. NELSON

#### 4563. EURIPIDES, *HERCULES* 551–60

102/142(a)

4.5 × 6.4 cm

Late second/third century

Fragment from the middle of a column originally c. 13 cm wide, written along the fibres. The hand is a rounded capital, rapidly written, in much the same style as P. Bodm. II, Gospel acc. to St John (Turner, *GMAW<sup>2</sup>* 63, earlier third century), with some recollection of the chancery style (especially *κ*: see LXVI 4503), perhaps pointing to a private copy. Letters, especially *ε*, are frequently touched by the letter following, giving an impression of flattened, horizontal extension in the hand generally. The horizontal bar of *η* is very high. *ω* floats between notional top and bottom line (556), but is fully raised in the middle (i.e. not flat-bottomed). *α* and *Δ* sometimes have a hook over the left at top. V-shaped *γ* in 553 with slight blobs on the ends of the arcs. The letters vary in size both separately and between different examples of the same letter.

Elision is marked by apostrophe in 552 and 554; the former might have been inserted by a second hand. No other reading aids occur. There is no opportunity to observe whether the scribe wrote iota adscript. In the nine partially preserved lines there are at least three mistakes, two of which have been deleted, with corrections (or variants) written above by



the first hand. εδω, if that was intended, for αιδω (556) is a phonetic error not usual in literary texts. In 557 δ has been deleted in dittography together with another letter.

The papyrus offers some unique readings. In 556 it gives the variant ε]σχον. An ε has been written above the ο, thus according with the only manuscript's reading ἔσχευ, but ο has not been deleted. It seems to have been rather a variant than a correction since other apparent mistakes have been deleted. Also in 556 the papyrus shows the MS reading αιδῶ to have been an ancient one, against Pearson's conjecture αιδῶς. An unreassuring light is cast by 557 where the papyrus gives a text very different from L (the Laurentianus, the *codex unicus*), one which, however, eliminates the necessity of conjecture in 556. Likewise in 559 the first letters of the papyrus do not seem to agree with the reading of L.

On the back, across the fibres, are remains in a good chancery hand: 2 Θ]ηβαῖδος [, 3 ] Λυκοπολεῖτου [. This could be interpreted as from the opening of official correspondence. A plausible opening address would involve an official (probably the ἐπιστράτηγος) of the Thebaid writing to an official (the στρατηγός?) of the Lycopolite nome. Cf. *W. Chr.* 28.1-2.

. . . . .  
 ].[ . . . . ].[  
 [ποθεν δ ε]ς υμας ηδ' ες[ηλθ αθυμια]  
 [Ευρυθε]ως κηρυκες [ηγγελλον ταδε]  
 [τι δ εξελ]ειπετ' οικον ες[τιαν τ εμην]  
 555 [βια πατ]ηρ μεν εκπεσ[ων στρωτου λεχους]  
 556 [κουκ ε]σχό'έν [[ε]]αἰδω τον [γεροντ ατιμασαι]  
 557? ]δητιδη[[δ.] ]τά'τη . [  
 558 [ουτω δ] αποντες εσπ[ανιζομεν φιλων]  
 559 ] . . . . . ανδρ . . . [  
 560 [μαχας δε Μι]γυων [αε ετλην απεπτυσαν]

554 Apostrophe was clearly marked by the original scribe before writing the next word. In 552 the apostrophe is missing its top, and is not clearly by the same hand.

556 Both additions are very likely by the same hand as the rest of the text. Original ε]σχον is a unique reading. L has ἔσχευ, whose subject is Lycus (or αιδῶς with Pearson's emendation of L's αιδῶ in 556). ε]σχον is conceivable: the plural subject would be 'they', i.e. Lycus and his men, 'the attackers'. In the papyrus -εν may have been intended to record a variant on, rather than a correction of -ον, since the ο is left undeleted. Elsewhere the scribe's suprascript letters are accompanied by deletion. But it may be merely the result of carelessness in a private copy.

557? At the right-hand edge a speck at mid-line level, compatible with c.

The line in L reads αιδῶς γ'. ἀποικεί τῆδε τῆς θεοῦ πρόσω. Corruption has been suspected in both 556 and 557, but no one has suspected deep corruption or that a text of 557 as different from L as that of the papyrus might exist. For comparison, we give 554-7 as they appear in Diggle's edition (OCT):

*Hp.* τί δ' ἐξελείπετ' οικον ἐστὶαν τ' ἐμήν;

*Me.* βίq, πατήρ μὲν ἐκπεσῶν στρωτοῦ λέχους  
*Hp.* κοῦκ ἔσχευ αἰδῶς τὸν γέροντ' ἀτιμάσαι;  
*Me.* αἰδῶς; ἀποικεί τῆδε τῆς θεοῦ πρόσω.

556 αιδῶς Pearson, *CR* 38 (1924) 13; αιδῶ L 557 αιδῶς; Badham; αιδῶς γ' L

Wilamowitz saw that 'this goddess' in 557 was Αἰδῶς, and that therefore she could not be the subject of ἀποικεί, yet various suggestions for taking Αἰδῶς as the subject of the verb have been advanced: (a) Murray's, that τῆδε τῆς θεοῦ means Λυκυγία; (b) Elmsley's αιδῶς ἀποικεί τῆδε τῆς χθονὸς πρόσω; and (c) Hartman's αἴτη γὰρ οἰκεί τῆδε γῆς πρόσω θεός, an approach revived by Cropp, who suggested τῆδε γῆς θεός πρόσω. Wilamowitz, on the other hand, kept L's αιδῶ in 556 and in 557 he printed Scaliger's αιδῶ γ' (the γ' already in L), which he and Scaliger intended as an ironic interjection: 'Shame indeed!'

Scaliger printed an accusative, suspecting that a word so used to query or mock an interlocutor's word must be in the same case as the queried or mocked word. Diggle, *Studies in the Text of Euripides*, 50-1, shows by examples that this intuition is right. But he also shows that L's γ', which is metrically necessary for Scaliger's conjecture, is entirely unwanted in this context. This might lead to the conclusion that in Amphitryon's reply (557) we must accept Badham's αιδῶς; ἀποικεί κτλ. and in Heracles' question (556) we must accept Pearson's οἴκ ἔσχευ αιδῶς τὸν γέροντ' ἀτιμάσαι;

The papyrus does not confirm Pearson's conjecture in 556: it gives the reading of L. In itself this is not very weighty. But it also removes the necessity of a conjecture here, since 557 as given by the papyrus clearly did not have a form of αιδῶς followed by ἀποικεί, and it was only this feature of 557 that made it necessary to alter 556. L's οἴκ ἔσχευ αιδῶ is perfectly acceptable: see *IT* 949 οἴ δ' ἔσχευ αιδῶ (and, for expressions equivalent to ἔσχευ αιδῶ, ἔχειν φόβον, or the like, *Med.* 1202, *Hip.* 998, 1204, *HF* 950, *Tr.* 977, *IT* 1380, *Pho.* 330, *Or.* 189, *IA* 431); it also yields a personal subject for ἔσχευ since the singular verb at least suggests 'he' and therefore Lycus, while ἔσχευ αιδῶς without accusative object leaves it quite open to question who is to be thought of, and Lycus has not been mentioned since 547. Euripides also does not use αιδῶς ἔχει, φόβος ἔχει, ἔρωσ ἔχει, or the like without an accusative object. For αιδῶς (ἔρωσ, φόβος, etc.) μ' ἔχει, see *Med.* 356, *He.* 970, *Su.* 178, *HF* 515, *Ion* 572, *Pho.* 622, *Or.* 101, 460, 1255, 1324, *Ba.* 828, *IA* 1410, *Rh.* 722, 859, *Hyps.* fr. 64.76 Bond. All these have accusative objects. The two examples cited by Bond ad loc. where αιδῶς (or allied expressions) have no object are much easier: in the first, *Hom. Il.* 15.657, the preceding sentence naturally suggests the object; in the second, *A. Eu.* 690-1, *κέβας ἀτῶν φόβος τε συγγενῆς* suggests ἀτῶς as the object of *σχέσει*.

At the beginning of the line the most plausible reading is δῆ, perhaps τί δῆ. But τί δῆ τί δῆτα is an impossible sequence of words: it might be suspected that the scribe wrote τι δη in dittography, writing δητιδηδ. (the last two letters corrected to τα) where he meant to write τί δῆτα. With τιδηδ. eliminated, a plausible restoration of the line might be, e.g., [αιδῶ; τί] δῆτα τῆς[δ' ἔχει θεοῦ μέρος;], adopting a beginning as in L, but abandoning its full form (αιδῶς γ').

The alternative would be to suppose that δητιδητα was actually what the writer or his copy intended, e.g. [πῶς] δῆ; τί δῆτα τῆς[δ' ἔχει θεοῦ μέρος;]. But πῶς is too short for the space: 5-7 letters are expected before δητι on the basis of a reconstruction of the previous and following line-beginnings as transmitted. In view of this, δῆτα occupies the fourth and fifth syllables in the line, probably preceded by τί. However, τί δῆτα occurs in the Euripidean trimeter usually at the beginning. When it does not, it begins in the second foot and is preceded by an interjection or an emotional vocative (*Held.* 433, *Hip.* 806, 1060, *Andr.* 443, *He.* 313, *Su.* 734, *HF* 1146, *Ion* 253). Thus perhaps [οἴμοι· τί] δῆτα τῆς[δ' ἔχει θεοῦ μέρος;] might be tried; for δῆτα in scornful or incredulous questions addressed to an interlocutor ('what conceivable share does Lycus have in that goddess?') see, e.g., *El.* 834. The interjection would express pain at the idea that someone might suppose Lycus ever showed αιδῶς. It is harder to see how a question introduced by τί δῆτα could have fitted into the context of the stichomythia. Alternatively the first letters could be articulated ]δ' ῆ and the line supplemented as follows: [ῆρου τόδ'; ῆ τι δῆτα τῆς[δ' ἀκεί θεόν;]; for indignant ῆρου τόδ', see *El.* 275. For ῆ . . . δῆτα see *S. OT* 429. Against this is that in the two places on the papyrus where elision is certain, it is marked by apostrophe. But otherwise we must assume a large error left only partially (and incompetently) corrected.

If ἤρου τόδδ' ἢ τι δῆτα τήνδ' ἀκκεί θεόν, or something like it was the reading of the papyrus, then L's reading might be secondary, and the papyrus might lend some help with the textual problem already recognized. Against this is the plausibility of ἀποικεί τῆδε τῆς θεοῦ πρόσω, which is vigorous and the reverse of banal, qualities one does not expect in a secondary reading. Yet at *Su.* 433–4 L reads γεγραμμένων δὲ τῶν νόμων ὁ τ' ἀθηνῆς / ὁ πλούσιός τε τὴν δίκην ἴσθην ἔχει, but Stobaeus has two vigorous lines in place of the first: οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲν κρείσσον ἢ νόμοι πόλει καλῶς τεθέντες· ὁ τε γὰρ ἀθηνέστερος. There is a less dramatic instance at *Med.* 752, on which see D. Kovacs, *Euripidea* (Leiden, 1994), 170–1, though there the alteration is more explicable. In short, the papyrus reading may be primary.

Even if it is not, it has forced reconsideration of the best way to emend L. In 556 L's οὐκ ἔχεν αἰδῶ, now confirmed by the papyrus, looks right (or at least ancient), and if we are to keep ἀποικεί κτλ. in 557, we might consider κείνός γ' ἀποικεί (Heimsoeth) or Λύκος γ' ἀποικεί, 'Lycus, at any rate, dwells far from that goddess'. L's γ' is now explained (γε = *saltem*), and αἰδῶς in the MSS could be a marginal explanatory note on 'this goddess' incorrectly interpreted as a correction of the first word in the line. This reading is compatible with either L's ἔχεν or the papyrus' ἔχον.

559 After ἀνδρ prima facie a rounded letter, ε or ο, apparently followed by part of a high horizontal (τ).

R. DILCHER  
D. KOVACS  
M. RICHTER

#### 4564. EURIPIDES, *TROADES* 340–6

104/62(a)

4.9 × 5.5 cm

Late third/fourth century  
Plate I

A small fragment of a roll with the left-hand part of a column and the left-hand margin. The text is written along the fibres. The height of the original column is unknowable; the 7 lines occupy 3.7 cm and the maximum 9 letters occupy 3.8 cm. The back is blank.

The hand is round, of medium to small size, well executed and with serious pretensions to formality. It appears close to Schubart, *GP* Abb. 93 and a lesser relative of Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 26 or Roberts, *GLH* 22b.

Lines 1 and 2 are inset and this suggests that Cassandra's whole monody was in *eisthesis*; indentation is often used to mark a change from longer to shorter verses. The acute accent in 340 seems to have been written by the original scribe. Just below 340 and close to its first letter there is a forked mark combined with a miniature coronis, indicating the end of Cassandra's monody. Paragraphus between 342–3 marks change of speaker.

340                    τον [πεπρωμενον ευναι]  
                         > πός[ιν εμεθεν]  
341 ] .βι<sup>ο</sup> βασιλεια β[ακχεουσαν ου ληψημ κορην]  
                         μη κουφο[ν αρηι βημ ες Αργειων στρατον]  
                         Ηφα[ι]στε δα[ιδουχεις μεν εν γαμοις βροτων]  
                         αταρ λυγρ[αν γε τήνδ αναιθυσσεις φλογα]

345                    [εξω] τε με[γαλων ελπιδων οιμοι τεκνον]  
                         [ωσ ο]υχ υ[π] α[ιχημησ]

341 ] .βι<sup>ο</sup>. The marginal note, an abbreviation for *Ταλθύβιος*, was probably written by the main scribe. Σ ad loc. ταυτά τινες τῶι Ταλθυβίωι, τινὲς δὲ τῶι χορῶι ἐπιμερίζουσιν.

343 The area where a marginal abbreviation for *Ἐκάβη* might have stood is broken away.

344 λυγρ[αν]. The papyrus agrees with V and gives support to Diggle's reading in the OCT text against Q's λυπράν and P's πικράν.

V. GIANNOPOULOU

#### 4565. EURIPIDES, *IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS* 1340–52, 1367–78

101/94(b)

Fr. a 3.2 × 9.1 cm

Second century

Two fragments with line beginnings, fr. a with the top of a column, fr. b with the foot. If the fragments are part of the same column (which seems inevitable, yet it has not been possible to confirm it from the vertical fibres on the back), the column would have contained 39 lines with a written height of c. 21 cm and a roll height of at least 26 cm; the intercolumnium was at least 3.6 cm. No lectional signs. Formal literary hand with mixed letter forms (cf. XXVII 2452 = Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 27; I 26 = Roberts *GLH* no. 19a). Iota adscript was written in 1343. The back is blank.

There are no new readings; line 1346, which has been deleted or transposed by editors, appears in its usual place.

Fr. a

1340                    [εσ]ηλθε[ν]  
                         κ[τ]ανοι[εν]  
                         φοβω δ[ι]  
                         κυγη[ι]  
                         στειχ[ειν]  
1345                    καντ[αυθ]  
                         ταρσ[ωι]  
                         υ[αυτας]  
                         ε[χοντας]  
                         ελ[ευθερουσ]  
1350                    κοντο[ις]  
                         αγκυ[ραν]  
                         σπ[ευδοντες]

Fr. b

κ[εῖνοι  
 ημ[εῖς  
 κα[ι  
 1370 εἰς π[λευρα  
 ωστ[ε  
 δειν[οῖς  
 εφε[υγομεν  
 [κ]αθα[ιμ  
 1375 οχθοι[ς  
 εμαρν[αμεσθα  
 ἀλλ ε[ἰργον  
 στα[θεντες

1346 The papyrus shows the presence of this line, against Diggle's suggestion to delete it, or Hermann's transposition after 1394.

1370 εἰς: ἐς MSS (cf. R. Kannicht (ed.), *Euripides, Helena*, Heidelberg 1969, i. 108).

1377 First λ a correction.

K. BÜHLER  
 C. SELZER

**4566.** EURIPIDES, *PHOENISSAE* 1327–37

106/27(a)

3.2 × 8.1 cm

First century  
Plate I

This scrap of a papyrus roll is written along the fibres with a thin pen in a large and unusual round book hand, laboriously executed. The hand has horizontal finials on the feet of every letter that offers the possibility and finials at the tops of many uprights as well, generally to the left but sometimes projecting both left and right. More extraordinary are the vertical upward serifs at the ends of the horizontal of τ, done with separate strokes, and sometimes extending below the horizontal as well. The angular construction of ρ is also distinctive. The V-shaped bowl of γ and the same shape used in ψ seem to spring from the letter base. The back is blank.

The papyrus casts direct light on variants only at 1328.

[πως φησ νεκυν τοι παιδο]ς αγα[παζων εμου]  
 [ουκ ες τοδ ηλθον ωστε κ]αι τα[.]δ' ε[ιδεναι]

1330 [αλλ οἰχεται μεν ση κασιγν]ητη πα[λαι]  
 [δοκω δ αγωνα τον π]ερι ψυχης Κ[ρεον]  
 [ηδη πεπραχθαι παισι τ]οισιν Οιδιπ[ου]  
 [οιμοι το μεν σημειον] εἰσορω τοδ[ε]  
 [εκυθρωπον ομμα και] προσωπον [αγγελου]  
 [στειχοντος ος παν αγ]γελεῖ το δρ[ωμενον]  
 1335 [ω ταλας εγω τιν ειπω μυθ]ον η τινας [  
 [οιχομεσθ ουκ ευπροσωποις] φρ[οιμοις αρχηι λογου]  
 [ω ταλας διςσως αυτω μεγα]λα γ[αρ φερω κακα]

1328 τα[.]δ' Ω: τὸδ' RRfSW.

1332 Unexplained mark above and to the right of ω of εἰσορω.

1334 παν αγ]γελεῖ Ω: ἡμῖν ἀγγ- PRW: ἡμῖν ἀναγγ- S.

1335 μυθ]ον Ω: λόγον Rf (ἡ om.) and #1V<sup>2</sup>CrFX.

τινας [γους] BRf: τῖνας λόγους ΩXZT<sup>1</sup>: τῖνα λόγον RSW.

1337 γ[αρ om. AS.

D. KOVACS

**4567.** EURIPIDES, *ORESTES* 599–601 (+ 2 FURTHER LINES)

100/108 (a)

2.3 × 2.3 cm

Second/third century

A tiny scrap from a papyrus roll; the back is blank. The small script, written along the fibres, is a formal mixed style, related to the 'Severe' Style, and allows the papyrus to be assigned to the later second century or the early third century.

The remains of the papyrus do not allow conclusions about the dimensions of the column or roll. There are no traces of any reading marks. Following a correction, elision is marked in line 600. The insertion of ουκ in line 601 is probably by the main scribe.

There are no overlaps with previously published papyri of Euripides' *Orestes*. The text following 601 appears to be wildly different from the medieval MSS.

600 [ει μη κελευσας ρυσεται] με μη θαν[ειν]  
 [αλλ ως μεν ουκ ευ μη λ]εγ[ε]ειργαστα[ι ταδε]  
 [ημιν δε τοις δρασας]ιν ουκ' ευδαιμ[ονως]  
 [ c. 16 ]γε.[1-2]ησα[  
 [ c. 16 ]μ.[. .].[

After 601 ]ησα[ suggests 608 ἀλγήσαι, but the rest of the traces and spacing will not fit. The line after that

could coincide with 603 ([μακαριος αιων ος δε] μη [πι]π[τουειν ευ]) but this is useless speculation in view of the uncertainty of the preceding line.

A. SPEYER

**4568.** EURIPIDES, *RHESUS* 839–47

68 6B.20/L(10–13)b

3.8 × 5.8 cm

Third century

Beginnings of nine lines of a roll from a column incomplete at top and bottom, with an intercolumnium of at least 2.5 cm. Written along the fibres, the back is blank. The hand is a formal semi-cursive documentary script of official type rather than a literary hand, much resembling the less ligatured portions of XLVII **3345** (AD 209). In such a hand, the flamboyant initial ornate  $\alpha$  in 842 does not call for special comment, but the inelegant  $\gamma$  (847) with rounded bowl in a separate stroke is striking.

840 ιπ[πων ερασθεις ων εκατι συμμαχους]  
 τους ζ[ους φονευεις πολλ επισκηπτων μολειν]  
 ηλθε[ν τεθνασιν ευπρεπεστερον Παρις]  
 ξενια[ν κατηιςχυν η συ συμμαχους κτανων]  
 μη γαρ [τι λεξηις ως τις Αργειων μολων]  
 διωλε[σθημας τις αν υπερβαλων λοχους]  
 845 Τρωων [εφ ημας ηλθεν ωστε και λαθειν]  
 [[ε]]ου προς[θεν ημων ησο και Φρυγων στρατος]  
 τις ουν [

841 ηλθε[ν unattested and unwanted; ηλθον MSS.

846 *cu* MSS. Apparently  $\epsilon$  here has been overwritten with  $\omicron$ , probably by another hand.  $\omicron\upsilon$  or  $\omicron\delta$  is unattested, and produces exactly the opposite of the desired sense which had been achieved by the original version.

D. OBBINK

## II. DEMOSTHENES

**4569–4580.** DEMOSTHENES, XIX (*DE FALSA LEGATIONE*)

Among previously published papyri, *Περὶ τῆς παραπρεβείας* (speech XIX) is the second most frequently exemplified speech of Demosthenes on papyrus after *Περὶ τοῦ στεφάνου*. In **4569–4580** we give editions of a further twelve ancient copies of Demosthenes XIX, being all those so far identified among the holdings of the Egypt Exploration Society. These additions to the list of ancient manuscripts of Demosthenes roughly double the number of published papyri containing Demosthenes XIX. The new fragments for the most part represent professionally made copies produced between the second and fourth centuries AD. The figures and tables for papyri of Demosthenes given by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Cd'E* 38 (1963) 297–305, id. *BASP* 2 (1964) 33–4 are now out of date, as are those of B. Hausmann, *Demosthenis fragmenta in papyris et membranis servata* (Diss. Leipzig 1921). Hausmann's catalogue is continued (up to 1981) by P. Mertens, 'Papyrus et parchemins d'origine égyptienne édités après la Dissertation de B. Hausmann', included in *Pars tertia* (pp. 138–9 for Demosth. XIX) of the publication of Hausmann's dissertation, ed. R. Pintaudi, *Papyrologica Florentina* 4 (1978) and *Pap. Flor.* 8 (1981), and we give an up-to-date list below. For frequency of occurrences of MSS of Demosthenes at Oxyrhynchus see J. Krüger, *Oxyrhynchos in der Kaiserzeit* (1990) 214–19, cf. 318, showing Demosthenes to be the most frequently exemplified prose author there, with Plato a close second. The new fragments confirm rather than alter the impression there that the finds of Demosthenes at Oxyrhynchus cluster in the second–third centuries. A table amalgamating sections of the speech covered by the new fragments published here for the first time with those already known follows. The numbers of Pack<sup>2</sup> or Mertens–Pack<sup>3</sup> are given where they have been assigned. The order is that of sections in Demosthenes XIX witnessed by the papyri, with entries repeated in italics where more than one section of the speech is covered, in order to indicate overlapping papyrus witnesses to the text. (BB = back blank; n.k. = not known.)

In addition, III **410** 103–7 (rhetorical treatise, ii AD) gives exactly the same extent of the quotation of Euripides (*Phoenix* fr. 812 Nauck<sup>2</sup>), as that quoted from Aeschines I 152 at Demosthenes XIX 245, suggesting that it attests the text of one or both of these speeches at these points.

Of further interest for points of textual tradition and formatting conventions (*ekthesis*, written as prose) in literary texts are those places in which poetry is quoted by Demosthenes: **4577**: § 243 Hesiod, *Op.* 763–4; **4577**, **4579**: § 245 Euripides, *Phoenix* fr. 812. 7–9 Nauck<sup>2</sup> (§ 247 Sophocles, *Antigone* 175–90; § 255 Solon fr. 4 West<sup>2</sup>). **4577** and **4579** at any rate make it clear that the quotations were present in some ancient MSS of Demosthenes. The new fragments, however, show no evidence of having contained the text of the documents (unlike some papyri of Demosthenes XVIII, for example: P. Ant. I 27, XI **1377**,

TABLE 2. *Papyri of Demosthenes XIX*

§§	(Mertens-) Pack <sup>2/3</sup>	Publication	Medium	Letters per line	Sacc.	Prov.
1-7 etc.	291	<b>4569</b> + P. Lit. Lond. 126 [= XXII Hausm. ]	pap. cod.	29-40	iii/iv	Oxy.
9-13	291	<b>4569</b> + P. Lit. Lond. 126				
10	292	P. Grenf. II 9 [= XXIII Hausm. ] (cited as pap. Bodl. by Fuhr)	pap. sheet ↓ (→ official doc.)	27	i/ii init.	?Fay.
11-25 etc.	293	P. Lit. Lond. 127 [= XXIV Hausm. = F. Kenyon, <i>JPh</i> 22 (1894) = Membr. Grafiana = <i>GMAW</i> <sup>2</sup> 82 = Cavallo-Maehler <i>GBEP</i> 3b. Once thought the earliest vellum codex; NB double columns: ii AD (as late as 200) acc. to Parsons <i>GMAW</i> <sup>2</sup> , redated to early iv by Cavallo-Maehler]	parchm. cod.	22-29	iv	?Fay.
13 etc.	—	<b>4570</b>	pap. roll → BB	18	iii	Oxy.
17	—	<b>4570</b>				
27-8	293	P. Lit. Lond. 127				
30-1	(293.1)	P. Köln I 16	pap. roll → BB	31-40	ii	n.k.
30-2	293	P. Lit. Lond. 127				
50-1	—	<b>4571</b>	pap. roll → BB	22-6	iii	Oxy.
53-7	295	IX <b>1182</b> [= XXV Hausm. = <i>GMAW</i> <sup>2</sup> 67] [same scribe as <b>1093</b> <i>Contra Boeotum</i> , but not same roll]	pap. roll → (↓ lease AD 88)	7-14	i/ii init. (mid-ii Turner, <i>GMAW</i> <sup>2</sup> )	Oxy.
58-62	(295.1)	P. Yale I 22	pap. roll. ↓ (→ ined. lit. text; i)	28-30	ii ex.	n.k.
79-80	—	<b>4572</b>	pap. roll → BB	13-15	ii/iii	Oxy.
92-3	—	<b>4573</b>	pap. roll → BB	12-13	ii	Oxy.
101-2	—	<b>4574</b>	pap. roll. → BB	27-9	ii	Oxy.
101-3 etc.	(295.2)	P. Yale II 101	pap. roll → BB	20-6	late ii	n.k.
109-11	(295.2)	P. Yale II 101				
113-14	(295.2)	P. Yale II 101				

## DEMOSTHENES

## 4569-4580. XIX (DE FALSA LEGATIONE)

148-9 etc.	—	<b>4575</b>	pap. roll → BB	14-16	iii	Oxy.
150-1	—	<b>4576</b>	pap. roll. → BB	11-14	iii-iv	Oxy.
154-8 etc.	—	<b>4577</b>	pap. roll. → BB	12-16	later iii	Oxy.
155-6	—	<b>4570</b>				
173-5	—	<b>4577</b>				
193-5	296	P. Mil. Vogl. I 13	pap. roll → ?BB	21-5	ii init.	Tebt.
202 etc.	(296.1)	P. Köln I 17	pap. roll ↓ (→ doc.)	23-6	i	n.k.
203-5	—	<b>4577</b>				
206	(296.1)	P. Köln I 17				
208-22	—	<b>4569</b>				
211	—	<b>4577</b>				
223	—	BKT IX 178	pap. roll → BB	15-17	iii	Herm.
223-4	—	<b>4575</b>				
231-2	—	<b>4577</b>				
234-40	—	<b>4577</b>				
237 etc.	—	<b>4578</b>	pap. roll → BB	22-4	ii/iii	Oxy.
240	—	<b>4578</b>	pap. cod.	36-8	iii/iv	Oxy.
241-3 etc.	—	<b>4579</b>	pap. roll → BB	17-22	ii-iii	Oxy.
243-5	—	<b>4577</b>				
245-6	—	<b>4579</b>				
251-2 etc.	(296.2)	PSI XVII Congr. 13 [hand v. like <b>4577</b> but longer lines] <i>PSI XVII Congr. 13</i>				
253-4	(296.2)	VIII <b>1094</b> [= XXXVI Hausm. ]	parchm. cod.	19-24	v	Oxy.
274-80	297	<b>4577</b>				
293-4	—	<b>4577</b>				
293-5	298	P. Tebt. II 267 [= XXVII Hausm. ]	pap. roll → ?BB	17-18	later ii	Tebt.
306-7	—	<b>4578</b>				
314-15	—	<b>4569</b>				
316	—	<b>4575</b>				
325	—	<b>4580</b>	pap. roll. → BB	16-19	ii/iii	Oxy.
Commentaries			pap. cod.		iii	Fay.
40-51, 99-158	294	MPER I 25				

P. Haun. I 5; cf. P. Köln VIII 334). Several of the new fragments (4571, 4578) give evidence for wide (as opposed to relatively narrow) columns in oratory: cf. Kenyon, *Books*<sup>2</sup> 56–7, Johnson, *Proceedings of the 20th Congress of Papyrologists* 425–7.

4569 is the first papyrus to witness the opening of the speech; 4580 contains the latest portion of the speech published so far. None of the papyri of Demosthenes XIX shows any sign of stichometric letters—perhaps only a coincidence, since many are not extensively preserved. But 4569 and 4577 are both sufficiently extensive to show conclusively that they never had any stichometry, nor for that matter scholia, obeloi, diplai, nor other signs of formal connection to ancient commentaries or the medieval scholia, other than the divergent readings witnessed by their texts or recorded as variants. Among other details (inconsistent agreement with one or another branch of the medieval tradition, conjunctive and separative errors, and the odd occasional unique and possibly correct reading), are the significant number of agreements (against the other branches) with A. The new instances offered by 4569–4580 at least prove the antiquity of these variants, and show that a subset of variants in A are more closely related to the manuscript tradition of certain papyri than to the other branches of the medieval tradition. See 4572 introd. For the textual tradition of Demosthenes see H. Erbse in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung I* (Zurich 1961) 262–4, and D. Irmer, *Philologus* 112 (1968) 43–62; id., *Zur genealogie der jüngeren Demostheneshandschriften* (Hamburg 1972), with reviews by N. G. Wilson, *CR* 24 (1974) 292 and M. Reeve, *CPh* 70 (1975) 297–9. Collation has been with (and lacuna supplied *exempli gratia* where plausible from) C. Fuhr's *editio maior* (Leipzig 1904). We have occasionally reported additional readings generously provided by Professor D. M. MacDowell from his own collations.

D. OBBINK

4569. DEMOSTHENES XIX 1–7, 9–13, 208–22, 309–10, 314–15

fr. 1: 115/44 + P. Lit. Lond. 126

fr. 1: 13.5 × 29 cm

Third–fourth century

fr. 2: 49 5B.98/B(4/5)<sup>b</sup>

fr. 3: 85/80(a)

Papyrus codex, codicological rectos written along the fibres, versos against. Fr. 1 belongs to the same codex leaf as P. Lond. inv. 1546C, identified by Bell, P. Lond. V 1814C, printed from Bell's private transcript by Hausmann I 110–14 no. XXII, and republished by Milne as P. Lit. Lond. 126 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 291. The London fragment joins with fr. 1; the transcript below incorporates a re-edition of the London fragment based on autopsy of the original, and shows the portion of the text supplied by the new fragment in bold type. As a result, the provenance of the London fragment (previously unknown) is demonstrated, and previous editions can be corrected in a number of places (see nn. to fr. 1).

The new fragments show several new textual variants, some of them viable, viz. fr. 1 recto 15, 22, 27, 31, 46, verso 18 (see notes). Some deviations are due to scribal error: fr. 1 recto 22–3, 24. Fr. 1 also has lacunae in which there were clearly deviations from the medi-

eval tradition: recto 31, verso 7, 22; and different word orders at fr. 1 recto 15, 49, fr. 1 verso 20–1, 30, 43–4, 44–5, 49.

Iota adscript is generally written, occasionally omitted (fr. 1 recto 41, 45, 46, 46–7; verso 40 τ]ω is unclear). Sometimes the scribe writes *scriptio plena*, sometimes not, in which case elision is more often than not tacitly effected, less frequently signalled with apostrophe. At fr. 1 recto 43 final η is written as a raised horizontal stroke. εαυ is written at fr. 1 recto 44, αυ at fr. 1 recto 46; the form at fr. 1 recto 33 and 34 is unclear.

For the tightly written, right-leaning version of the later formal mixed style, Roberts *GLH* 17b (c. 175–200) shows the basic form, and Turner–Parsons *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 43 (fourth century) a later development. The Demosthenes fragment falls somewhere between these two; Bell dated the hand to the late third century, but did not exclude early fourth. The character is aptly described by Turner's generalisations (*Typology* 37): 'an informal and workaday type, fairly quickly written, serviceable rather than beautiful, of value to a man interested in the content of what he is reading rather than its presentation; . . . "utility" books; margins are small, lines usually long.'

The average number of letters per line is 35 (1 counted as half), with a minimum of 29, a maximum of 40. The length of consecutive lines may differ by up to 6 letters (although there is some attempt made to keep the right margin even). The lines tend to get shorter towards the end of the page. The variability of line length coupled with the inconsistent practice concerning elision and unexpected textual variations from codd. often make supplements uncertain (see on fr. 1 recto 36–7, 49).

No ink appears on fr. 1 recto after line 53 nor on fr. 1 verso after line 53. These were therefore very probably the last lines on the page. The text interval between recto 53 *υπo* and verso 2 could have been contained in approximately 10 lines. Thus approximately 10 lines are missing from the top of the verso and, correspondingly, from the top of the recto. This gives 63 as the approximate number of lines per page. In fr. 2, which gives a complete column, there are 62 lines on the recto and 60 on the verso. The text from the beginning of Dem. 19 to fr. 1 recto 1 *κωλυητε* could have been contained in about 10 lines, or a little more: therefore the recto was probably the first page of the speech. There can then scarcely have been room for a title on the same page.

With 63 lines the columns of text were approximately 28.5 cm high. There was a lower margin of at least 2.7 cm, and presumably a similar upper margin, giving a height of approximately 34 cm for the page. The width of the text is approximately 10.5 cm. Side margins were each at least 2.3 cm. This yields a page width of at least 15 cm. With a single column per page, this would give the impression of being exceedingly tall and narrow, a member of Turner's Group 8 Aberrant 1 (*Typology* 21 'much higher than broad'), for which IV 697 (Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*) provides a good comparison. Such a codex could have contained the whole of Dem. 19 in about 56 pages. Other speeches were probably contained in the same volume, if it were a single-quire codex, since recto → precedes verso ↓ at its beginning, and this arrangement still holds for fr. 3 with §§309–310 on recto → and §§314–5 on verso ↓, near the end of the speech. The narrower column width in fr. 3 should

be an argument in favour of a single quire, as the page width narrows towards the centre of the quire.

The following lectional signs are in evidence. Circumflex accent: fr. 2 recto 6. High point: fr. 1 recto 2, recto 37. Paragraphus, marking a sense-break in the preceding line: after fr. 1 recto 2 (with high point), 13, 26, 27, 30, 39, 47; fr. 1 verso 44. Diaeresis: fr. 1 recto 8 *περιῶν*; recto 14 *τουτονῖ*; fr. 1 verso 13 ἴν, 19, 20 and 21 *προσίων*, ?30 ἴδι[ac]. At fr. 1 verso 38 *ουχ ὡς* has apparently been deleted by marks resembling circumflex accents.

Fr. 1 recto

κωλυτῆ [οἱ νομοὶ συ]γ[ηγαγόν υ]μας οὐχ ἵνα χ[υρία] § 1  
 τοῖς ἀδικουσι ποιητῆ· τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἄλλοις [οσοὶ πρὸς] § 2  
 τὰ κοινὰ δικαίως προσερχόνται καὶ δ[ε]δωκ[ότες ω]  
 εἰς εὐθυνας τὴν αἰλ[ογί]αν ὀρω πρ[ο]τεινομέ[νους του]  
 5 τογί [δε Αἰς]χίγην π[όλυ τ]άναντια τούτων πρ[ὶν γὰρ εἰς]  
 ἐλθῆναι εἰς ὑμᾶς καὶ λογ[ο]ν δούνασι τῶν πεπρα[γμένων]  
 τὸν μὲν ἀνήρηκε τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς εὐθυνας ἐλθόντων  
 τοῖς δ' ἀπέλιπε περιῶν δεινοτάτον παντῶν ἔθος [εἰς]  
 τὴν πολ[ι]τείαν εἰσαγῶν καὶ ἀκυμφορωτάτον ὑ[μῖν]  
 10 εἰ γὰρ ὁ π[ρ]αξίας τί τῶν κοινῶν καὶ διοικήσας τῶ[ι κα]  
 θ' αὐτοῖν φοβῶμαι καὶ μ[η] τῶν δικαίω[ι] κατὰ σκ[ε]ψ[ε]ῖς [μῆ]  
 δεῖνα [εἶναι κατηγό]ρον αὐτοῦ παντ[α]πᾶσι[ν ἀκυροὶ παν]  
 τῶν [ὑμεῖς γενήσε]σθε το μὲν οὖν ἐξελ[..... πολ] § 3  
 λα καὶ δεῖνα πεπο[ι]ηκότα τουτονῖ καὶ τ[ῆς ἐσχάτης]  
 15 ἀξίον [ὄντα τιμωρί]ας θάρρω καὶ πανυ π[ι]στευῶ  
 ὁ δὲ καίπερ [ὑπε]λήφω τὰ φοβουμαι φ[ρασε]ῶ  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ οὐκ ἀποκρυψομαι ὅτι μοι δ[οκ]οῦ  
 εἰν ἀπα[ν]τες οἱ παρ ὑμῖν ἀγωνες οὐχ ἡττον ὡ ἀνδρες  
 Ἀθηναῖοι τῶν κα[ί]ρων ἢ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐ[ι]γ[α]ί  
 20 καὶ τὸ χρόνον γεγενῆσθαι μετὰ τὴν πρεσβ[ε]ίαν  
 πολὺν δεδοικα μὴ [τι]να ληθῆναι καὶ συνηθεῖσ[α]ν τῶν  
 ἀδικημάτων ὑμῖν ἐμπεποιήκεν ὡς δὴ μ[οι δο] § 4  
 κει ἀν ὁμῶς ἐκ [τ]ρυφῶν καὶ γυνῶναι τὰ δίκ[αι]α καὶ  
 δικασαὶ νῦνι τοῦθ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ὡ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι  
 25 καὶ λογισαίσθε τινῶν τῆς πόλεως λόγον προση[κ]εῖ  
 παρα πρεσβευτοῦ λαβ[ε]ῖν πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν

ων ἀπηγγείλεν δευ[τ]ερον δε ὡν ἐπεισεν τρίτον  
 δε ὦ[ν π]ρροσετάξατε αὐτῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τῶν χρόνων  
 [εφ α]πᾶσι δε τρυτοῖς εἰ ἀδωροδοκητῶς [ἡ] μὴ π[αν]  
 30 [τα ταυ]τᾶ πεπρακτᾶι τί δηποτε τούτων ἐκαστο[.] § 5  
 [.....] ὅτι ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἀπαγγελίων τῶ β[ο]υλε[υ]  
 [..... περ]ῖ τῶν πραγμάτων [ν ὀρθῶ]ς ὑμῖν ἔστι[ν]  
 [.. μ]εγ οὖν ὡσιν ἀλη[θ]εῖ[ς] τὰ δεο[ν]τα ἐγνωτε  
 [ 2-3 δ]ε μὴ τοιαῦτα τα ἐν[αντία τ]ὰς δε συμβ[ου]λι  
 35 [ακ π]ιστοτέρας ὑπολαμβ[αν]ε[τε εἰν]αί τὰς τῶν [πρε]ς  
 [β]ε[β]ῶν ὡς γὰρ εἰδοτῶ[ν περὶ ὧν ε]πεμφθῆς[αν]  
 [ 2-3 ] .. ἀκούετε οὐδε[ν οὖν ἐξελεγχ]ε[σθαι δικαιο[.]  
 [εστ]ίγ ὁ πρεσβευτῆς [φ]αυλον] οὐ[δ] ἀκυμφορον ὑμῖ[ν]  
 40 συμβεβουλευκῶς καὶ μ[η]ν περὶ ὧν προσετάξα  
 τε εἰπεῖν ἢ πρᾶξαι ἢ δια[ρ]ρηθῆναι εἰσηφισαθε  
 ποιῆσαι προσηκεί διωκῆσθαι εἰεν τῶν δε  
 δὴ χρόνων δ[ι]ὰ τί ὅτι πολλακίς ὡ ἀνδρες Ἀθηναῖ  
 οἱ συμβαίνει πολλῶν πραγμάτων καὶ μεγαλῶ[ν]  
 [καί]ρον ἐν βραχεί χρόνῳ γίνεσθαι ὅν εἰαν τίς  
 45 [ε]κ[κ]ῶν καθυφῆι τοῖς ἐναντίοις καὶ προδῶ  
 οὐδ' ἀγ ὅτι οὖν ποιῆσθαι πάλιν οἷος τ' ἔσται ὡ  
 καὶ ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπερ γέ του προικα ἢ μὴ το μὲν § 7  
 ἐκ τ[ο]υτῶν λαμβ[αν]εῖν ἐξ ὧν ἡ πόλις βλαπτε  
 τᾶι παγτε[ς] ε[ἰ]ς ὅτι φησὶται ἀν δεινὸν εἶναι  
 50 καί[τι] π[ο]λλῆς ὀργῆς ἀξίον εἶναι ὁ μὲντοι τὸν  
 [νομον τιθ]ε[ί]ς οὐ διωρ[ε]ῖ[σ]ε τούτο ἀλλ' ἀπλῶς εἶπε  
 [μῆδαμῶ]ς δ' ὄρω [λαμ]βανεῖν ἡγουμένους ἐμοὶ  
 [.....] ἀπαξ λα[β]ον[τα] καὶ διαφθαρέντα ὑπο

Fr. 1 recto

5 τ]άναντια τούτων pap., S<sup>d</sup> QA: τάναντία τούτου SYU: τάναντία τούτου (with ὡν sscr. above ὡ) F.

7 ἀνήρηκε pap. AF<sup>bc</sup>U: ἀνήρηκεν SVY (MacDowell; cf. fr. 1 recto 27 n.).

13 ἐξελ[ pap.: ἐξελέγξεν SF<sup>1</sup> Q: ἐξελέγχευ F corr. AY.

15 ἀξίον [ὄντα τιμωρί]ας pap.: ὄντα τιμωρίας ἀξίον SVAYU: τιμωρίας ὄντα ἀξίον r and other later medieval MSS, and also Aristid. *Rh.* 37. 16 (MacDowell).

22 ἐμπεποιήκεν pap., conl. Markland: ἐμπεποιήκει S<sup>d</sup> VA: πεποιήκει S<sup>1</sup>: ἐμπεποιήκει YU. Pap. now gives manuscript authority to Markland's conjecture (printed by Shilleto). For the perfect indicative in a fearing clause (a fear lest something prove to be the case), cf. Thuc. 3. 53. 2, Soph. *Al.* 278-9. Pap. here thus probably uniquely preserves the original reading.







π[ο]λεῖ πρ[ο]ς Ἱερωνυμον τον υπερ Φιλίππου  
 λε[γο]ντα υπερ υμων ε[φ]η δεδημηγορηκεναι  
 30 κα[ι] δ[ι]εξιων ηλικα τηγ Ελλαδα πασαν ο[υ]χι τας  
 ἰδι[α]ς μ[ο]νον αδικουσι πατρ[ι]δας οἱ δωρο[δοκουν]  
 τες [κ]αι χρηματα λαμβανοντ[ε]ς παρα Φιλ[ι]ππου ε[ι]  
 [πει] δη το[ι]νυν ταυ<τα> πολ[ι]τευομενου του[του] τοτε] § 12  
 [και] τ[ο]υτο το δ[ειγμα] ε]ξενηνοχοτας πε[ρι] αυτου τους]  
 [περι της ει]ρηνη[ης c. 6 ]η[.] πεμπειν ως Φι[λιππον]  
 35 [επεις]θητε υ[π] Αριστο]δημου και Νεοπτολ[εμου]  
 [και] Κτησιφ[ωντος και] των αλλων των εχ[ειθεν]  
 [απ]αγγ[ε]λλοντων ουδ οτι]ουν υγιες γ[ι]νε[ται]  
 των π[ρ]εβ[ε]ων το[υ]των εις] και ουτος [ουχ ως]  
 ουχ ως των αποδω[κομεν]ων τα υμετερα ο[υ]  
 40 δ [ως] των πεπιστε[υκοτων] τ[ω] Φιλίππωι αλλ ως  
 των φυλαξοντων τους αλλους δια γαρ τους προ  
 ε[ι]ρημενους λογους και την προς Φιλίππον α  
 πεχ[θ]ειαν ταυτην εικοτως παντες περι αυ  
 45 του ειχ[ε]τε την δοξα[ν] προσελθων τοινυν ε  
 μοι με[τ]α ταυτα συνεταττετο κοινη πρεσβευ  
 ε[ι]ν και οπως τον μαρον [κ]αι κοινη φυλαξομεν  
 αμφοτεροι τον Φιλοκρατη πολλα παρεκελευ  
 50 σατο και μεχρι του δευρ επανελθειν απο της  
 πρωτη[ς] πρεσβειας εμε γουν ω [α]νδρες Αθηναιοι  
 διεφθ[αρ]μενος και πεπρακ[ω]ς εαυτον ελανθα  
 55 νην χωρις γαρ των αλλων ωγ προειρηκε[ι] πρ[ο]  
 τερον αναστας τη προτεραι τη προτερα[ι] των]  
 εκκλ[η]σιων εν ηι περι της ει[ρ]ηνης εβ[ο]υλευ]

Fr. 1 verso

This fragment overlaps at lines 16-23 with P. Grenf. II 9, at lines 27-53 with P. Lit. Lond. 127, and at lines 49-50 with 4570 fr. 1.

4 [λαβ]ετ[ε] αυ: it is not clear whether there was a high point after [λαβ]ετ[ε], or whether αυ or εαν was written.

επιδ[ε]ξι[ω]ν pap.: δεξιω SVAYU (cf. fr. 1 verso 22 περιπεμφαι pap.: πέμφαι SAYU).

5 τ[ο]υτ[ο]ν pap. SY: τουτονι AV and Hermog. 222-3 Rabe.

αφ. [2-3]: αφε[τε] (SVAYU) or αφει[ετ[ε]] (conjectured by Cobet).

6 Remains at end indeterminate.

7-8 The latter part of line 7 (with the beginning of 8) appears to have a different reading from the transmit-

ted text. Cf. fr. 1 recto 31 n. εξ αν ουκ εστ' δετις αν S: ουκ εστιν δετις αν ουν A (MacDowell): εξ αν δετις αν ουν A': ουκ εθ' add. A<sup>3</sup>mg.

9-10 μνημονεοντας υμ[ων]. [.] | - - τους πολλους υμων pap.: μνημονεοντας υμων - - τους πολλους SVYU: μνημονεοντας υμων - - πολλους A. Pap. read either (i) μνημονεοντας υμων | - - τους πολλους υμων with dit-tography of υμων, arising perhaps due to confusion over word order, i.e. either υμων τους πολλους or τους πολλους υμων; or (ii) μνημονεοντας υμα[ς] | - - τους πολλους υμων, in which case the uncertainty was syntactical: either (a) υμας τους πολλους (τους πολλους in opposition to υμας), or (b) τους πολλους υμων (υμων partitive genitive with πολλους). Perhaps we have here two textual alternatives, which both found their way into the main text.

10 εν pap. A: om. SVYU.

μνημονεουσαι pap.: υπομνησαι SVAYU. The reading of pap. is evidently inferior to that of the medieval MSS, as Demosthenes apparently does not employ μνημονεουσαι transitively. Corruption due to preceding μνημονεου-σας (9)?

11 πρωτον: εαυτον SVAYU.

14-15 The expected reading would be εν αρχη(ι) μαλις(α), but we have failed to interpret the scanty traces as parts of this and so leave the text unrestored.

18 διαφθειραντα: διαφθειροντα SVAYU, P. Grenf. II 9. The papyrus' reading could be grammatically sus-tained.

20 προσιον SVAYU: και προσιων P. Grenf. II 9.

δημω[ι] is not excluded.

20-2 The papyrus has a different ordering: προσιον μεν τωι δημω(ι) [πρ]οσιων δε τη βουλη, whereas SF AYU, P. Grenf. II 9 have προσιων μεν τη βουλη, προσιων δε τω δημω. Cf. fr. 1 recto 15 n. Disruption in the tradition here is represented in Q, which omits προσιων μεν τη βουλη.

22 πανταχοι S: πανταχου VY, P. Grenf. II 9 [Dion. Hal.], Rhet. 8. 6 (301 Usener-Radermacher): πανταχη A.

περιπεμφαι pap.: πέμφαι SAYU P. Grenf. II 9: πέμπειν V (cf. fr. 1 verso 4 n.).

22-3 τους συναξοντ[ε]ς SAVYU: τους αξαντας P. Grenf. II 9.

23 τ[ο]υ βο[υ]λευ[ο]μενους περι SAVYU: om. P. Grenf. II 9.

24 απαγγελων: απαγγελλων Fuhr.

27 A rough breathing (or slapdash diacresis?) above the ι of ιερωνυμον.

27-53 These lines overlap with P. Lit. Lond. 127 col. 1 (pag. 1).

29-53: The beginnings of these lines are supplied by P. Lit. Lond. 126.

29-31 P. Lond. contains the line beginnings: 29 κα[ι] δ[ι] 30 ἰδι[α] 31 τες[ε]. These are not recorded in the transcript by Bell (apud Hausmann), and were misread and wrongly assigned to the following leaf by Milne.

30 μ[ο]νον αδικουσι: αδικουσι μονον SVAYU, P. Lit. Lond. 127.

33 ε]ξενηνοχοτας pap.: εξενηνοχοτος SVAYU, P. Lit. Lond. 127. The papyrus' reading is not viable here.

34 We do not see how to reconcile ]η[.] with the transmitted reading πρεσβεις.

37 γ[ι]νε[ται] with A (MacDowell): γιγνεται SVAYU, P. Lit. Lond. 127.

38-9 The end of 38 and the beginning of 39 (the former contained in 4569, the latter in P. Lond.) both have ουχ ως. Marks over the ο and γ in 38 may have been intended as expunction marks; there also seem to be ink traces over x and ω, although the surface has been damaged. Above c the surface is missing, so it is possible that it too was similarly expunged.

42 Φιλίππον with V, P. Lit. Lond. 127, Dionysius Hal.: τον Φίλιππον SAY.

43-4 εικοτως παντες περι αυ[του]: εικोटως περι αυτου παντες SVAYU: εικοτως ταυτην περι αυτου πα[ν]τες P. Lit. Lond. 127.

44 paragraphus: in P. Lond., but not reported by Bell-Hausmann-Milne.

46 κοινη was written instead of the transmitted αναιδη (λιαν αναιδη Dionys.), possibly influenced by the occurrence of κοινη in the preceding line at this point in the scribe's exemplar?

47 Φιλοκρατη pap.: Φιλοκράτην SVAYU P. Lit. Lond. 127.

51 *ων προειρηκε[ι]* pap. SY<sup>m</sup> P. Lit. Lond. 127: *ων, ὄπερ εἶπον, εἰρήκει* S corr. pr. m. F corr. AY: *ὡνπερ εἶπον εἰρήκει* S<sup>1</sup> F<sup>1</sup> Q.

52-3 *τηι προτεραι τηι προτερα[ι] των* | *εκκλ[η]σιων*: In the absence of 4569, Hausmann restored *τηι προτεραι εκκλησια των* | *εκκλ[η]σιων*; Milne restored *τηι προτεραι τ[ων εκκλησιων]* | *εκκλ[η]σιων*. The dittography is now shown to be with *προτεραι* rather than *εκκλησιων*. The medieval manuscripts are divided here between *τηι προτεραίαι των εκκλησιων* SVY, P. Lit. Lond. 127: *τηι προτέραί εκκλησία* A. In view of Dem. 19. 15 *τηι προτεραία . . . εις την υστεραίαν, τηι προτεραίαι* would have a fair claim to be the right reading (*pace* Hausmann 114). See R. Shilleto, *Demosthenis De falsa legatione*, 4th edn (Cambridge 1874) 17-18. However, at Dem. 19. 144 we find *την προτέραν ήμέραν* with *εις την υστεραίαν*, and Shilleto op. cit. supposes that *τηι προτεραίαι των εκκλησιων* would have to mean not 'on the first day of the assemblies', but 'on the day before the assemblies'.

53 *η: αι* SVAYU. Possibly pap. alone preserves the correct reading here. The *εκκλησία* lasted two consecutive days (18th and 19th Elaphebolion), hence *η προτεραία / προτέρα* and *η υστεραία*. On the first of these days, they *deliberated* about the peace (*εν ηι περι της ειρήνης εβουλεύεσθε*), but the actual decision on *ratification* of the peace was postponed until the second day, §15 *εν ηι την ειρήνην εδει κυροῦσθαι* (cf. § 144). *Pace* Hausmann 114 (arguing for the correctness of *εν αι*: 'in utraque enim contione Atheniensis de pace deliberavisse ex orationis ipsius verbis elucet').

## Fr. 2 recto

- ληθεξ ιχ[υρον και τουναντιον ασθενες το συν] § 208  
 ε[ιδ]εναι π[επρακοςιν αυτοις τα πραγματα τουτο]  
 παραιτε[ιται την θρασυτητα την τουτων] τ[ουτ] αποξ[τρεφει]  
 [τ]ην γλωπτα[ν εμφραττει το στομα] αγ[χ]ει σιωπαν ποιει  
 5 [το] τ[ο]ν τελευταιον ιστε δηπου πρω]ην εν Πειραιει οτε αυ § 209  
 [τον ουκ ειατε πρεσβευειν βωων]τα ως [εισαγγ]ελει με και  
 [γραφεται και ιου ιου καιτοι ταυτα μ]εν εστιν μ[α]κρων και  
 [πολλων αγωνων και λογων αρχη] εκεινα δε απλα κα[ι]  
 [δυο η τρια ιως ρηματα α] κ[αν ε]χθες εωνη[μ]ενος αν[θρω]  
 10 [πος ειπειν ηδυνηθη ανδρες Αθ]ηναιοι τ[ουτ]ι το π[ραγ]  
 [μα πανδεινον εστι ου]τ[ο] [κι] κα[τ]ηγορει ταυτα εμου ων  
 [αυτος κοινωνος γεγνε κ]αι χρηματα ειληφεναι φη[σιν]  
 [εμε αυτος το]υτ[ων] μεν τ[ο]ινυν ουδεν ειπ[εν]  
 [ουδε εφθεγξατο ουδε ηκουσεν υ]μων ουδεις αλλα δε ηπε[ι]  
 15 [λει δια τι οτι ταυτα μεν αυτω σ]υνηδξει πεπραγμ[ενα και]  
 [δουλος ην των ρημα]των τουτων ουκουν πρ[ο]σ ηι προσ  
 [ταυτα η διανοια αλλα] αυ[ε]δυετο επελαμ[βανετο γαρ αυ]  
 [της το συνει]δ[εναι λαιδορεισθα]ι δε .αλλ . . ουδ[εν]  
 [εκωλυεν αυτο]ν ουδ[ε] βλασφημ[ε]ν ο τουνυν μεγα[ι]στ[ον]  
 20 [απαυτων κα]ι ου λογ[ο]σ α[λλ] [εργον] βουλομεν[ο]ν γαρ εμ[ο]υ  
 [τα δικαία] ωςπερ επρεξ[βενσα δικ ουτω] και λογον υμι[ν] δου

- [ναι δικ] προσελθ[ων Αιςχινης ουτοσι] τοις λογιστα[ις εχων]  
 [μα]ρτ[υ]ρασ πολλ[ου]σ απηγορευε μ[η] καλειν εμε ει[ς] το  
 [δι]καστηριον τι ουν ην [τουτο της προτερας εκεινης]  
 25 [πρε]σβειας ησ ουδεις κ[α]τηγορει δουσ] λογ[ο]ν ουκετι εβου]  
 [λε]το αυθις ειζειναι πε[ρι] ταυτης ησ] γυ[ν] ει]σερχ[εται]  
 [εν η] παντα τα αδικημα[τα ενη]ν [εκ] δε του δικ ει[μ] εις § 212  
 [ε]λθειν αναγκη περιεσ[τατο] κ[αι] τουτω παλιν [εισιε]  
 [ναι δια] ταυτα ουκ εια με κ[α]λ[ε]ν [και]τοι τουτο το [εργον]  
 30 [ω αν]δρες Αθηναιοι αμφ[ο]τε[ρα υμι]ν επιδεικ[νυσιν σα]  
 [φωσ και] κατεγνωκοτα εα[υτ]ου τουτου ωστε μ[η]δενι νυν]  
 [υμων] ευσεβωσ εχειν [α]ποψηφισασθαι αυ[τ]ου και]  
 [μηδεν] αλεθεσ ερουντ[α περι εμου ει γ]αρ ειχε τ[ο]τε αν]  
 [και λεγων κ]αι κατηγορων [ε]ξ[η]τα]ζετο ου μα Δι[α] ουκ απη]  
 35 [γορε]υε καλειν ως τοινυ[ν] ταυ]τα αλη[θη] λεγω καλει § 213  
 [μ]οι [τ]ουτων τους μαρ[τ]υρασ [ vac. ]  
 [α]λλα μην εαν [γε τι εξω της πρεσβεια]ς βλα[σ]φη[μ]ηι  
 [π]ερι ε[μ]ο[υ] κατα πολλα ουκ αν εικ[ο]τως ακουοιτε α[υ]  
 [τ]ου [ου γαρ εγω κρινομαι τημερον] ουδ εγχει μετα [ταυ]  
 40 τα υ[δωρ] ουδεις εμοι τι ουν εστι τ[α]υτα πλην δικαιων  
 λογων [απορια τις γαρ αν κατηγο]ρειν ελοιτο κρινομε  
 νος εχ[ω]ν ο τι απολογησεται ετι] το[ι]νυν κακεινο σφο  
 πειτ[ε] ανδρες δικασται ει εκρ[ι]νομη[ν] μ[ε]ν εγω κατη  
 45 γ[ο]ρε[ι] δε Αιςχ[ι]νης ουτοσι Φιλιππος δ ην ο κρινων  
 50 ειτ' εγω μηδεν [ε]χ[ω]ν ειπειν ως ουκ α[δικω] κακωσ  
 ελεγον τουτονι κ[αι] προπηλακιζειν] επεχειρουν  
 ουκ αν οιεσθε κ[αι] κατα αυτο τουτο αγανα]κτη[σαι] το[ν]  
 Φιλιπ[ο]ν ει πα[ρα] εκεινωι τους ε]κεινον [τις ευεργε]  
 τας ει κακωσ λεγει μ[η] τουνυν υμεις χειρους γε]  
 50 ησθε Φιλιππου αλλ υπ[ε]ρ των αγωνιζεται περι του]  
 51a των ανακαζετε απολ[ο]γ[εισθαι] λεγε την μαρτυριαν]  
 51b — [ ] § 215  
 ουκουν εγω μεν εκ τ[ο]ν μ[η]δεν εμαυτω συνειδεναι]  
 και λ[ο]γον διδ[ο]ναι και παντ[α] τα εκ των νομων υπε]  
 χειν ωμοσην [ο]υτος δ[ε] τα[ν]αντια πως ουν ταυτα ε]  
 55 μοι και τουτω πε[π]ρακ[ται] η πως ενεστι τουτω ταυ]

τα προς υμας λεγειν α μη[δε ητιαται προτερον πωποτε ουδαμως]  
 δηπου αλλ ομως ερει κ[αι νη Δια εικοτως γε ιστε γαρ δ]η  
 που τουθ' οτι αφ ου γεχρον[ασι ανθρωποι και κρις]εις γι  
 γνονται ουδεις πωποτε [ομολογων αδικειν ε]αλω αλλα  
 60 αναισχυντουςιν αρνου[νται ψευδονται προ]οφραζεις [π]λατ  
 τουται πα[ντ]α ποιουσιν υπ[ερ του μη δουναι δ]ικη[ν] εφ ων § 216  
 [ο]υδενος δει τημερον υμα[ς] π[αρακρουσθηναι] αλλ αφ ων

## Fr. 2 recto

1-3 The right-hand portion of these lines is severely abraded. The transcript ignores scattered specks of ink that cannot be assigned to particular letters.

3 απρο[σ]τρεφει VAP: αποστρέφεται SY.

7 Spacing suggests that the papyrus may have read και ιου ιου with SVAYP after γραφεται, rather than ιου ιου with O.

13 The codex did not have room before το[υ]τ[ων] for both ειληφώς η and μετειληφώς. η μετειληφώς is omitted by B, usually explained as by parablepsy, though some editors maintain it as the original reading; G. H. Schaefer (followed by Fuhr) excised ειληφώς η, Reiske η μετειληφώς. For discussion see Shilleto ad loc. The papyrus does not help to solve the controversy. Possibly a supralinear addition (]ωσ?) above μ of μεν.

ειπ[εν] SVAYP: ειπεν secl. Weidner.

17 επελαμ[β]ανετο SVAYP: ελαμβάνετο S<sup>sup</sup>.

18 λοιδορεισθαι: δε, αλλ, ουδ[εν] SVYP have λοιδορείσθαι δ' άλλ' άλλ': A omits άλλ'. ουδέν is a conjecture (mg. Morelii): ουδεις SVAYP, but the papyrus does not reveal its reading here.

24 After [δι]κα[σ]τηριον the papyrus has omitted ως δεδωκότ' εϋθύναι και ουκ εϋθ' υπεύθυνον και τὸ πρᾶγμα ἦν ὑπεργέλοιον.

28 περιε[σ]τατο: περιέστατο SAVYP. Or did the papyrus have περιε[σ]τατο?

29 ταυτα with F: ταύτ' SY (MacDowell); τούτο QAP. με is an original variant after ουκ εἶα.

31 κατεγνωκοτα with AFQP: κατεγνωκόθ' SY (MacDowell).

εα[ν]τ[ον] SVYP: αὐτοῦ A.

33 1. αληθεσ.

35 καλειν SVAYP: μη ante καλεῖν add. Cobet.

36 Titulum MARTYPEC post μάρτυρας add. SVAYP del. Felicianus. The scribe must have left the remainder of the line space blank, beginning the next section at the start of a new line. The blank space is anomalous, as it cannot have been left to contain a rubric like μαρτυρες or μαρτυρια.

37 εαγ VP: ἄν SAY.

42-3 κακεινο σκο[π]πειτ[ε] SVYP: σκοπεῖτε κάκεινο A.

43 δικασται SVAY: om. P.

43-5 κατηγ[ο]ρε[ι] . . . εγω SVAYP: om. P<sup>1</sup>.

49 τας ε. Initial ink traces show interference by apparently extraneous ink. Possibly a pleonastic anaphoric εἰ stood after τας. SVAYP read unproblematically εὐεργέτας κακῶς.

λεγει SVYP<sup>1</sup>: λέγοι AP<sup>4</sup>.

49-50 γε[ν]ησθε SVAYP: γενησθαι S<sup>1</sup>.

51a αναγκ[α]ζειτε SVAYP: αναγκάζετε αὐτὸν A.

51b A forked paragraphus marks the μαρτύρια. Possibly the rubric was written out at this level. If so, it was written off-centre to the right, and is now lost. MARTYPIAI S.

52 μεν VAP: om. SY Bekk. aneccl. 171, 14.

συνειδεναι] SAY: συνειδέναι δεινὸν VP.

53 ἤθελον added after λόγον in A.

54 ωμοσην: ὄμνην δειν SVAYP.

[ο]ντος SAY: οὐτος VP.

56 προτερον SVYP: om. A. With 49 letters this line is remarkably longer than average. It is likely that προτερον has dropped out.

61 εφ ων. No variant from transmitted ὦν is elsewhere recorded. Possible trace of a high stop preceding εφ.

62 [ο]υδενος: ουδενι SVAYP. The papyrus' reading is ungrammatical, probably a careless error. The papyrus also exhibits a unique order here: [ο]υδενος δει τημερον υμα[ς] παρακρουσθηναι, whereas SVAYP have ουδενι δει παρακρουσθηναι τήμερον υμάς.

## Fr. 2 verso

[ις]ε αυτοι τα π[ρ]αγματα κ[ρ]ιναι μη τοις εμοι]ς λ[ο]γοις μ[η] § 216

[δε τ]ο[ι]ς τουτ[ο]υ προ[ο]ς εχειν [μηδε γε τοις μα]ρτυσι ους

[ουτ]ος ετ[οι]μους εξει μαρτυ[ρειν οτιου]ν Φ[ι]λιππο[ι]

χορηγωι χρωμενος οψεξ[θε δε ως ετο]ιμωσ αυτω[(ι)]

5 μαρτυρηουσιν μηδε γε [ει καλον και] μεγα ουτ[ο]ς φθ[ε]ρ

ξεται μηδ ει φαυλογ εγω [ουδε γαρ ρητορων ουδε λο]

γων . [υμας] κριειν τημερο[ν] ειπερ ευ φρονειτε προση § 217

κε[ι] ποιεισθαι αλλ υπε[ρ] πραγματων αιχωρως και

δεινωσ απολωλοτων τη[ν] υ[παρχουσαν αιχνην]

10 εις τους αιτιους απωσας[θαι τα πεπραγμενα α παν]

τες επιστασθε ξεετ[α]σαντας τι ουν εστι ταυθ]

α υμεις ιστε και [ου] παρ[α] ημων υμας ακουσαι δει ει

μ[ε]ν απαντα . [ο]σα υπεσχο[ν]θ υμιν εκ της ειρηνης

γεγονεν και τοςαιτης [ανανδριας και κακιας]

15 [υ]μεις ομολογησα . [ε]ιναι μεστοι ωστε μητ εν τη]

[χ]ωραι των πολεμι[ων] οντων μητε εκ θαλαττης]

[πολ]ιορκουμενοι μη[τε] εν αλλω μηδενι δεινω της

πολεως ουσης αλλα κα[ι] αιτον ευωνον ωνουμε]

ν[ο]ι και ταλλα ουδεν [χ]ει[ρον] π[ραττοντες] η νυν προ

20 ε[ι]δ[ο]τες και προακ[η]κοο[τ]ε[ς] παρα τουτων και

[τ]ους συμμαχ[ο]υς απολουμε[ν]ου[ς] και Θηβαιου[ς] ισχυ

ρους γενησο[μ]ε[ν]ου[ς] και τα επι Θρα[κη]ς Φιλιππον]

[λ]ηψο[μ]ε[ν]ον και εν Ευβοια κατασκε[υ]α[ς] [θη]ς[ο]μενα

[ο]ρητηρια εφ υμας [και πανθ α]π[ε]πρακται γε[ν]η

25 [σο]μενα ειτ[α] την ειρηνην εποιησα[ς]θε αγ[α]πητ[ω]ς

[απο]ψηφι[ς]α[ς]θε Αιχι[ν]ου και μη προς τος[ο]υτοις α[ι]ς

[χρ]οις και επιορκιαν [πρ]οσκη[σ]θητε ου γαρ υμ[α]ς

[αδικει] ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μαι[νο]μαι καὶ τ[ε]τυφωμα[ι νυν]  
 [κατ]ηγγορων ἀ[ν]του εἰ δὲ [παντα τα]ναντια τ[ουτων] § 220  
 30 [καὶ] πολλὰ φιλα[ν]θρωπα εἰποντες Φιλιππον [φιλειν]  
 [την] πολὺν Φωκεας ὡς[ε]ν Ἰθβαίους παύς[ειν]  
 [της υ]βρεως ἐτι πρὸς τ[ουτοις μείζο]ν ἢ κα[τα Αμφι]  
 [πολιν] ἐν ποιησειν ὑμ[ας Εὐβοιαν Ὠρω]πον [αποδώσειν]  
 [εἰαν τυχη]ι της εἰρη[νης εἰ ταυ]τὰ εἰποντες καὶ ]  
 35 [υποσχομενοι παντα ἐξηπατ]ηκασι κ[αὶ πεφε]  
 ν[α]κικα[σιν καὶ μονον οὐ την Ατ]τικην ὑμ[ων]  
 περιρηρ[η]ται [καταψηφισας]θε καὶ μὴ [πρὸς]  
 τοις ἀλλοις οἰς [υβριςθε οὐ γὰρ ἐγωγ οἶδ ο τι χρη]λε  
 γειν ἀλλο καὶ ὑπ[ερων οἱτοι δεδωροδοκ]ηκασιν  
 40 ὑμεις την ἀρα[ν] [καὶ την ἐπιορκιαν οἰ]καδὲ εἰς  
 ἐνεγκησθε εἰτι τοῖνυν κακεῖνο σκο[πειτ] ω  
 ἀν[δ]ρ[ε]ς[ε] δικαστα[ι τινος εἰνεκα ἐγὼ μὴδ]εν ἠδ[ι]  
 κηκο[τω]ν του[των κατηγορειν ἀ]ν[ε]λλ[ο]μην  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐ[υρη]ς[ε]τε ἠδὺ πολλοὺς ἐ[χθ]ροὺς ἐχειν οὐ  
 45 δὲ γ' ἀ[σφαλες ἀλλὰ ὑπηρ]χ[ε] μοι πρὸς τούτον  
 [ἀ]πεχθ[ε]ἰα τ[ις] οὐδεμία τι οὐν ἐ[φοβου] περι καυτου  
 [καὶ] δ[ια] δ[ε]ἰ[λιαν ταυτην ἠγης]ω ζωττηριαν καὶ  
 [γὰρ ταυτα ἀκηκοα αυτ]ο[ν] [λεγε]ν [κ]αίτοι [μὴ]δενος  
 [γε οντος Αιχινη δεινου μὴδ]ε ἀδ[ικημ]ατο[ς] ὡς  
 50 [εὐ φησ εἰ γὰρ αυ ταυτ ερει σκοπειτε ἀ]νδρ[ε]ς δι[καστα]ι  
 [εἰ εφ οἰς ο μὴδ οτιουν ἀδικων] ἐφοβουμην ἐγὼ μ[η]  
 [δια τούτους ἀπολωμαι τι τούτους] πρ[ο]σηκε[ι] π[αθ]εῖν  
 [τούτους ἀδικηκο]τα[ς] ἀλλ' οὐ δια τα[ν]τὰ ἀλλὰ  
 55 [δια τι σου κατηγορω] συκοφαντῶ νη Δία ἵνα ἀρχ[υ]  
 [ριον λαβω] παρὰ σου καὶ πρ[ο]τρ[ε]ρον ἢ μοι κρείττ[ον]  
 π[α]ρα Φιλιππου λαβειν το[ν] διδ[οντος] πολὺ καὶ μὴ  
 [δενος τούτων ἐλαττο]ν κ[αὶ] φιλο[ν] κακεῖνον ἐχ[ε]ιν  
 κ[αὶ] τ[ουτους] ἦσαν γὰρ ἀν[η]σ[αν] φίλοι των αυτω[ν]  
 60 κεραινω[ν] ἠνοτι οὐδὲ γὰρ ἔχθραν πατρικ[ην]  
 ἐχο[ν]τι πρὸς [μὲ] ἀλλὰ [οτι] τ[ων] π[ε]π[ρ]α[γμ]εν[ων]

Fr. 2 verso

2 οὐς VAP: οἰς SY.

3 ετ[οι]μους SVAYP: ἐτοίμως F.  
 [οτιου]ν SVAP: ὅτι οὐ Y.  
 6 Text as Fuhr: some scanty traces in the indicated lacuna are difficult to assign to specific letters.  
 8 ποιεισθαι: no variant from transmitted ποιεῖν is elsewhere recorded.  
 13 μ[ε]ν SA: μὲν γὰρ VYP.  
 15 ομολογησα. [. Traces incompatible with the transmitted ὁμολογεῖτ' εἶναι.  
 22 γενησο[με]ν[ους] SVYP: γεγενημένους A.  
 27 οὐ: οὐδὲν SVAYP.  
 28 καὶ τ[ε]τυφωμα[ι] SVAY: om. QP (add. Q<sup>pp</sup>VP<sup>pp</sup>).  
 30 [καὶ] πολλὰ φιλα[ν]θρωπα: καὶ πολλὰ καὶ SVAYP.  
 33-4 Εὐβοιαν Ὠρω[πον] [αποδώσειν] | [εἰαν τυχη]ι της εἰρη[νης]: ἐαν (ἀν VP) τύχη τῆς εἰρήνης, Εὐβοιαν, Ὠρω-  
 πὸν ἀποδώσειν.  
 37 περιρηρ[η]ται SVAYP: περιρήρητο S<sup>1</sup>: παρήρηται S<sup>pp</sup>: π[ε]ρ[ι]ρήρηται F.  
 [καταψηφισας]θε καὶ SVYP: ante καταψηφίσασθε καὶ cras. A.  
 40-1 εἰς|ἐνεγκησθε SA: ἀπενέγκησθε VYP.  
 41 Line-end unclear; perhaps traces of a correction or deletion.  
 44-5 οὐδὲ γ' οὐδὲ γ' SF<sup>pp</sup>AY: οὐδ' αὖ VP.  
 45 μοι s.v. A<sup>1</sup>.  
 50 δι[καστα]ι SVAY: om. P.  
 54 συκοφαντῶ νη Δία SVAYP: συκοφαντῶν ἰδια S<sup>1</sup>.  
 55 πρ[ο]τρ[ε]ρον ἢ μοι κρείττ[ον]: π[ο]τέρον κρείττον ἢ μοι παρὰ SVAYP.  
 56 πολὺ SVAYP: πολὺν S<sup>1</sup>.  
 58 ἦσαν φίλοι A: μοι ante φίλοι SY: post φίλοι VP.

Fr. 3 recto

[ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] . [ . . . ] η ]  
 [γαγεν παντας ὑμας] εἶδεναι [καὶ] τ[ο]υς π[ε]ρ[ιεστη] § 309  
 [κοτας τα μετα ταυτα καὶ ἐλ]ξεῖν ἐν οἶδ' οτ[ι] τας ἀτυχεῖ[ς]  
 [καὶ τάλαιπῶρους ἀνθρ]ωπους ἀσ οὐκ ἠλεησ[ε]ν Αἰσχί  
 5 [νης οὐδ' ἐδακρυσεν ἐπ]ι τούτο[ις] τὴν Ἑλλάδα εἰ παρὰ  
 [τοῖς συμμαχοῖς ὑπο τω]ν πρεσβ[ε]ρων ὑβρι[ζ]ονται ἀλλ' ὑ § 310  
 [περ αὐτου κλασει] του τα [τ]οιαυτα πεπρεσβευκοτος  
 [καὶ τα παιδι ἰσως παραξει κα]ι ἀγαβιβαται ὑμεις δε[ ]  
 [ . . . ] τ[ο]υτου [π]αιδ[ια] [ . . . ]  
 10 [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]  
 [ . . . ] πεπον]θοτ[ε]ς

Fr. 3 recto

5 τούτοις: ταύταις SVAYP. The papyrus has a unique variant, perhaps assimilated to the masculine under the mistaken impression that τάλαιπῶρους ἀνθρώπους in the preceding clause is masculine.

6 ἀλλ': ἀλλ' SAY: ἀλλὰ FQ (MacDowell).

8 δὲ AFQ: δ' SY (MacDowell).



θις αυ πεπ[ραχοτων και]  
[π]αρ α[[το]]υ[το το ψηφισμα]

Lines 1–13 overlap with P. Lit. Lond. 127 col. iii (pag. 2).

5–6 τα τ[ης πολει]ωσ pap. VA: τ[ης πόλεω]σ SY and (to judge from spacing) P. Lit. Lond. 127, and printed by Fuhr. Weil bracketed τὰ τ[ης πόλεω]σ as an interpolation, but in support Fuhr compares 207 τὰ πράγματα τ[ης πόλεω]σ. The papyrus provides ancient testimony for the reading with the article τὰ here.

12 Tail of a descender, as from ρ, γ, φ, ψ, possibly compatible with ο]ρ[κους as transmitted.

19–20 ἐξηπατημενοι pap., VAY and corrected in S, and printed by Fuhr: ἐξαπατηθέντων S<sup>1</sup> corr. S<sup>4</sup>vr.

22 [π]αρα του[το pap. before correction, [π]αρ αυ[το after correction: αὐτό omitted in V, probably unrelated to the correction here in the papyrus. το is deleted by placing two dots above it and a horizontal stroke (m. 2? paler ink anyway) through the letters, a different method of deletion from that in fr. 3 where a series of linked horizontal lines is used.

Fr. 3

[πορ]ευσ[τ]ο κυκλωί κ[αι πριω] § 155  
[εις Μ]ακεδονιαν [[εις]ε]λθ[ειν]  
[τριε]ς κα[ι ε]ίκοσι ημερ[ας]  
[ανηλ]ωσαμεν τας δ [αλ]  
5 [λας πα]σας εκαθημεθ [εν]  
[[ελλ]ηί πριω Φιλιππον  
[ε]λθε]ν εν αις επορευθη  
[με]ν ομου πεντηκον  
[θ ολ]αί εν δε τουτωι Δο § 156  
10 [ρικκ]ον Θρακ[.]. τα επι τει  
[χων] [ε]ρον ορος παντα τα  
[πραγ]ματα εν ειρηνηι [και]  
[σπον]δαις η[ι]ρηι και διωκει  
[θ ο Φιλι]π[πος πο]λλα λεγον  
15 [τος εμου και θρυλ]ουντ[ος]

These lines overlap with 4577 cols. i–ii.

1 Unexplained ink in the form of an acute accent above the line after ι in κυκλωι, presumably indicating a pause before the following clause (similar one in 9).

2 εις deleted with a line at mid-height and a supralinear line. ειςελθειν here would be unique.

3 ε]ίκοσι pap. SVAY: ε]ίκοσι A<sup>1</sup>.

4 δ' L: δέ SAFQYP (MacDowell).

5 πα]σας pap. SA: άπάσας VY.

εκαθημεθ[ pap.: καθήμεθ' SAFQYP and printed by Fuhr. The imperfect here is unique but sustainable as a reading in the context.

9 ολ]αc pap. SVAY: δλαιc S corr. rec. Y corr. There is unrelated ink in the shape of an acute accent after [ολ]αc, probably marking pause (cf. 1 n.).

9–10 Δο[[ρικκ]ον pap. SFAY: δωρίσκον Q

10 Θρακ[.]. does not help to corroborate Θράκην (SVAY) against Palmerius' correction Θράκης (Εργίικην Sandys).

13–14 SVYP have διωκειθ' ό Φίλιππος: διωκείτο Φίλιππος A, 4577; but the papyrus does not reveal its reading here.

15 έμου is printed by Fuhr, in agreement with SVAY, 4577. Spacing leaves it uncertain whether the papyrus agreed or read μου with F<sup>1</sup>QA.

M. POWERS

#### 4571. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 50–1

32 4B.7/H (2) part

3.8 × 7.9 cm

Third century

Fifteen lines from the right-hand side of a column, lacking a few letters at the end of several of the lines. Of the right margin 0.3 cm is extant (from 7 onwards). The text is written along the fibres and the back is blank.

Line length is calculated at 22–26 letters. This gives a relatively wide column for oratory of c. 7 cm (for parallels see 4578 and introd.). Too little survives to determine whether reading marks were used and how elision was treated.

The hand is clumsy and almost upright with medium-sized letters. There is a slight tendency to decoration by means of serifs facing left, attached to the vertical of κ and to the tall letters. The hand may be assigned on palaeographical grounds to the third century. Comparable are P. Berol. inv. 21102+17153 (plate 59 in *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen der Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin 1925) which on the recto preserves accounts assignable to the reign of Trajan or Hadrian; P. Berol. inv. 21135, clumsier though (plate 58 in *Fest. Aeg. Mus. Berl.*), with cursive script on its recto assigned to the late second or early third century; PSI XI 1187 (plate XLIV in Pap. Flor. XXX) from Oxyrhynchus, assigned to the second century; with slightly later features, P. Vindob. G 29826 (plate 47 in Seider, *Paläographie* ii) assigned to the third century.

The papyrus agrees in 11 with SA against the vulgate, and with the other main MSS in 4 against A in a case of simple transposition of words. The addition of the article before Φω]κεας, if correct, would offer a unique but significant variant.

The text of this papyrus overlaps with no other previously published. The exact division of the first six lines, where both beginnings and ends are missing, is uncertain.

[νος δ αλλου παρον]τος των Αμ[φι] § 50  
[κτυονων πλην Θεττ]αλων και Θ[η]  
[βαιων ευφημοτα]τ ανθρωπω[ν του]



## 4573. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 92-3

66 6B.4/F(1-2)b

8.1 × 9.3 cm

Second century  
Plate II

The damaged remains of two columns from a roll (blank verso), possibly with parts of the lower margin (no trace of ink visible below col. i 15). Together the columns contain parts of §92 (i) and §93 (ii); apart from a minor variation of word order in col. ii 1-3 and (probably) a corruption in col. ii 14 (see notes), the text agrees with the manuscript tradition (col. ii 6 and 12 n.) against conjectures of Ortner (col. ii 2-3 n.) and Herwerden (col. ii 7-8 n.).

The number of lines per column may be calculated as an average of 28 (height: c. 16 cm) with 13 letters per line (width: c. 5 cm; for similar narrow columns cf. Dem. XIX 53-7 in IX 1182 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 295, plate in *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 67; [Dem.] XLVI 25-6 in P. Vindob. G 29824 = Pack<sup>2</sup> 330). No punctuation, accents or other diacritical signs (but see col. i 8; col. ii 3, 8) apart from four line-fillers.

The elegant upright hand has ε ο c tall and narrow in contrast with deliberately spaced letters like η μ ν τ; γ in particular is distinctive for its broad shallow top. There are occasional delicate serifs and finials. This style, exemplified for example in LXIV 4405 (plates I, II) + XXXIV 2683 (plates I, IV), XXXIII 2663 (plate IV) and P. Ant. I 26 (plate II), is normally assigned to the later second century; see XXVII 2454 introd. There are a few cases of ligature (col. ii 5 γο, 8 τη, 14 γη).

## Col. i

[λεμος] προς Φ[ι] § 92  
[λιππον η]ν εν  
[ταυθ εγκαλ]ει τις  
[Αιςχινη βο]υλε >  
5 [ται τις τουτ]ου κα >  
[τηγορευ] περι >  
[των εν τω π]ολε  
[μω πραχθε]ντων  
[ουδε εις ουκου]ν πε  
10 [ρι τουτων γ] αφει  
[ται και ουδεν] αυ  
[τον δει λεγει]ν πε  
[ρι γαρ των αμ]φι  
[cβητουμεν]ων

15 [και τους μαρτ]υ >  
(foot?)

## Col. ii

(13 lines missing)

[νην τ]ις επει § 93  
[θ]ον ημας ποιη  
[c]αρθαι επεισθη  
μεν πρεσβεις επε[μ]  
5 ψαμ[εν] ηγαγον  
ο[υ]τ[οι] δε[υ]ρο τους  
ποιη[co]μενους  
την [ε]ιρηνην  
παλιw ενταυθα  
10 περι τουτ[ου] μεμ  
φεται τις Α[ι]c[χ]ι  
νην φησι τ[ι]c ειςη  
γησασθαι του[τον]  
[[. ο. νη]] αδι[κειw]  
15 .. [  
(foot?)

## Col. i

1-2 Blob of ink between 1 and 2 (broken by the margin, thus not fully distinguishable as an accent), perhaps interlinear correction, but possibly accidental.

4 At end, filler sign (*diple* form) as in 5, 6, and 15.

8 The final -ων projects into the margin and is thus compressed; this may be due to the fact that the sentence ends here: cf. col. ii 8.

10 In lacuna: τούτου S<sup>1</sup> A: τούτων S<sup>p</sup> FQY (cf. § 93 = col. ii 10); the space rather suggests τούτων, the original reading of S. τούτου, however, is accepted by Fuhr, on the basis of comparison with περι τούτου in § 93, apparently the reading there of the papyrus as well, to judge from space (ii 10), though F originally read τούτων there, while recording -ων as a correction or variant.

## Col. ii

1-2 τ[ι]ς επει[θ]ον ημας: τινεσ ημασ επειθον SVAY. The papyrus shows an original variation of word order, but the order of the medieval MSS, accepted by Fuhr, avoids three consecutive short syllables (Blass's Law).

2-3 ποιη[c]αρθαι SVAY: ποιεισθαι Ortner.

4 The π of επε[μ] stands exactly below the final η the line above, so the writer does not keep as even a margin here as in col. i.

6 ο[υ]τ[οι] SVA: αυτοί Y.



7–8 ποιη[co]μενους την [ε]ιρήνην: with SVAY against Herwerden's proposal to write *πεισομένους* and omit *τήν ειρήνην*.

8 Although the end of [ε]ιρήνην seems more liberally spread than elsewhere, there is space at the end of the line; this could be due to a tendency to finish sentences with line end, cf. col. i 8.

10 F gives *τούτων* with an interlinear *ου* above -ων: *τούτου* SQAY; a decision is difficult, but space slightly recommends the latter supplement.

12 φησι: SF<sup>1</sup>Q<sup>2</sup> and corrected in Y: φήσει QAY and corrected in F (the two forms are often confused in the manuscript tradition).

14 [ . . ο . νη ] αδι[κειω]: *εἰρήνην ἢ ἀδικεῖν* SVAY. The bracketed traces carry supralinear expunction dots. It is hard to equate them with any part of transmitted *εἰρήνην*, nor any reason to unless that word were miswritten. In any case, it seems the expunction was taken too far, also deleting required *ἢ* before *ἀδικεῖν*.

15 Traces of ink too abraded to be readable; SVAY have *ὅτι*.

K. LUCHNER

## 4574. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 101–2

84/83(f)

5.8 × 14.3 cm

Second century

Fragment of a papyrus roll, written along the fibres on papyrus of poor quality, in a tiny roundish bookhand of informal production with some documentary affinities. The back is blank. The text shows limited correction (supralinear addition in 13, possibly by the same hand). There are diaereses (13, 18). Punctuation by medial point (5, added after writing). In 18 the scribe fails to elide a final vowel. The papyrus affords no opportunity to observe whether or not iota adscript was written. The exact point at which lines ended cannot be determined. Even allowing for the irregularity of the hand, the lines seem to have been of uneven length, another sign of its informal character.

The papyrus probably exhibits a variant word order in 12.

top?

] . . . [

] δι . . . [

λ]ελυμ[αcμενος φανηι· αν μεντοι

§ 101

δι]α πον[ηριαν c. 5 ] . . . . . [

5 δ]ωρα· και τουτ̄ εξ[ελε]γχ[θηι

υπ α]υτων των πεπραχμε[νων

μαλ]ιcτα μεν ει οιον τ̄ [

] . . . . . ει δε μη ζων[τα

-οι]c παραδει[γμα] ποιη[σατε

10 cκοπ]ειτε δη τον υπερ τουτ̄[ων

ω]c δικαιοc εcται μεθ υμ[ων

§ 102

αναγκη] δη που τ̄[ο]υτους τους [λ]ογο[υc

Αιcχινη]ν τουτον̄ προς ὑμα[c

περι] των Φωκεων και τω[ν

15 Θεcπειω]ν και της Ευβοια[c

πεπρ]ακωc εαυτο̄ν [

] . . . [ . . . [ . . . [ . . . [

ακου]σαντα ὑποcχ[ομενου

Lines 8–18 overlap with P. Yale II 101.

5 εξ[ελε]γχ[θηι SVY: *ελεγχθῆ* A.

7 *εἰ οὐκ* τ(ε) was deleted by Cobet: the papyrus clearly attests it.

10 του SVAY, P. Yale II 101: *των* A<sup>1</sup>.

12 τ[ο]υτους τους [λ]ογο[υc pap.: *τοὺς λόγους τούτους* SVAY, P. Yale II 101.

12–14 *Αἰσχίνην* τουτον̄ προς ὑμα[ε] ειπειν VA, P. Yale II 101 and printed by Fuhr (*Αἰσχίνην* is deleted by Weidner): *Αἰσχίνην* προς ὑμαc *εἰπεῖν* τουτον̄ SY.

13 *ἰ* of *τουτον̄* a later addition, possibly by the same hand.

14 *των* post *και* SAY, P. Yale II 101: omitted by V.

D. OBBINK

## 4575. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 148–9, 223–4, 316

106/43(e)

fr. 1 6.1 × 8.3 cm

Third century

38 3B.79/H(1)a (part)

106/7(a)

Parts of three non-consecutive columns from a papyrus roll (with traces of a fourth), written along the fibres. The back is blank. Line length 14–17 letters, with a mean of slightly under 15. The lower margin is preserved on fr. 2 (3.5 cm), and probably also on fr. 1. Inter-columnium of 1.5 cm. Punctuation by high points (fr. 1 i 2 and 9 (both later insertions) and fr. 2. 3) and a low point (fr. 1 i 12); initial diaereses (*ἰ* fr. 1 i 9, *ῥ* fr. 1 i 12, 2. 6). Circumflex (fr. 1 i 3); acute accent (fr. 2. 7). Iota adscript not written (fr. 1 i 7). *Scriptio plena* in fr. 2. 5; but elision is both effected and marked in fr. 2. 8.

The hand is a fair-sized formal version of the developed 'Severe Style', sloping slightly to the right, showing narrow ο, ι, c contrasting with wide ν, μ, π. The hand is neat and well spaced, but informal, not very fast: ο is small and floats high in the line; only ρ, γ, φ, and sometimes ι project below the line. ω is generally written broad with only a slight rise in the centre (fr. 1 i 4), but also in an alternative, tiny compressed form (fr. 1 i 10) for saving space to justify the right margin at or near line end. The scribe tries to ensure a straight right-hand margin: note *και* squeezed in (fr. 1 i 4). ε and c both narrow with straight not curved tops. The cross-bar of ε projects. μ with a deep, broad, flattened saddle. The diagonal of ν begins from mid-height on the left upright and curves slightly in to the right upright; pointed α with distinctively curved right-hand side. There is some shading which,



## 4576. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 150-1

106/29(a)

3.2 × 5.8 cm

Third/fourth century

Scrap from a papyrus roll written along the fibres in a medium-large Biblical Majuscule of early type. No margin survives to the left, but the paragraphus at 7-8 indicates that we do have line-beginnings. On the right, the supplements printed vary somewhat in length: in particular, that in 4 is four letters shorter than that in 3. Unless there was a variant, we must assume that (as often in this style of script) the line-ends were irregular or tailored by reducing the letter size.

The script exhibits tidy, regular letter spacing and little decoration apart from serifs on ends of top-stroke of τ (5) and considerable shading in letter strokes. Strongly bilinear apart from ρ, γ, and probably φ (4) where the tail is broken. There is also some wavering in the line of writing, e.g. unevenness in 6 where γ descends below the line, and x appears to float to the top line. α written in three strokes, with diagonal cross-stroke leaving the left leg at the bottom line. Extraordinarily narrow column (10 letters in 4). The scribe fails to elide a final vowel (*scriptio plena*) in 3, the only observable case. There is no opportunity to observe whether iota adscript was written or not. Punctuation by paragraphus below 7. The back is blank.

	λησπον[του και]	§ 150
	μη προε[σθαι μη]	
	δε εασαι κ[ατασχειν]	
	Φιλιππον [μη]	
5	δεν εν τω [μετα]	
	[ξ]υ χρονω [των]	
	εκει χωρι[ων η]	§ 151
	δειν γαρ α[κριβως]	
	οτι π[ανθ οσαν εκ]	

1 Wavy trace above ο, seemingly not an accent.

2-3 μηδὲ AFQ; μηδ' SY.

3 εασαι κ[ατασχειν] SVY; κατασχεῖν postponed until after μηδὲν (lines 4-5) in A.

7 εκει SA; ἐκεῖ τι VY.

M. WILLIS

## 4577. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 154-8, 173-5, 203-5, 211, 231-2, 234-40, 243-5, 293-4

28 4B.61/G(4-5)a

Fr. 1 16 × 13 cm

Later third century

29 4B.56/X(12-13)a

112/22

114/50(b)

118/14(d)

Fragments of several columns from a papyrus roll. The back is blank. Its columns contained up to 35 lines of text, c. 23 cm. in height. The roll had deep top and bottom margins (at least 4 and 4.5 cm respectively), combining to give a roll at least 31.5 cm in height. The intercolumnium is about 2 cm, and the average width of columns 4.5 cm, with a line of 11-15 letters. On the width of columns in oratorical papyri see W. A. Johnson, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (Copenhagen 1994) 423-7; id., *The Literary Papyrus Roll* (Diss., Yale 1992) 167-77. In this format the entire speech would have occupied about 200 columns in a papyrus roll of about 4 m.

The script is a right-sloping 'Severe Style'. Narrow ε, ο, ο, c; α is triangular; ζ is in 3 strokes (of book-hand type); ω with a flat bottom, at a diagonal to the line; sometimes the cross-stroke of η has a tendency to become horizontal. Cross-shaped ψ. The initial letters are slightly enlarged. The writing is to be assigned to the later third century by comparison with I 23 with plate VI (Plato, *Laws IX*), dated earlier than AD 295 on the basis of a consular date in a document on the verso. Also worth comparing is P. Ups. inv. 114 + P. Bon. 7 + PSI XVII Congr. 10, three fragments coming from the same codex and preserving Isocr. *Ad Nic.* 32-6; cf. *Trenta testi greci da papiri letterari*, ed. M. Manfredi (Florence 1983) 23-9, pl. IV. P. Herm. Rees 4 (plate III; Cavallo and Maehler, *GBEP* 2a) and 5 (plate IV; Turner, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 70), documents from the Theophanes archive datable to the early fourth century, show the development of the script.

η at line-end is sometimes written as a short raised horizontal stroke. There are occasional filler-strokes at the ends of lines, apparently added later. Sentence break is marked by paragraphus together with high stop. Medial points also appear: some of these were applied at the time of writing, some were squeezed in afterwards, in the same black ink. The scribe sometimes leaves spaces between words; iota adscript once omitted (fr. 1-3 ii 4), twice written (fr. 1-3 ii 18, fr. 11-14 iv 29), where we can observe. There are occasional iotacistic spellings (fr. 4 i 15, fr. 11-14 iv 11). Elision is applied inconsistently (i.e. sometimes there is *scriptio plena*), but never marked. Inorganic diaeresis occurs over initial γ. A dicolon is used at a point where a ψήφισμα would have been inserted (154). A sign, similar to a x, appears twice in the upper margins. Its meaning is still undetermined (something similar in another papyrus of Demosthenes XIX, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 67). It may have been put in the margin by a second hand just to check or to mark something, for instance the number of columns already corrected by a διορθωτής or covered by a reader.

There are several corrections (in § 237 by a different hand) and numerous agreements and disagreements with the transmitted text of varying interest.

Frr. 1-3: §§ 154-8

Col. i

[θανηται γρα]ψας § 154

[ωσπε]ρ νυν λ[εγ]ω &gt;

[τοις] ρημασι ουτως

[αντ]ικρυς και μοι

5 [λεγ]ε το ψηφισμα

[τουτο λαβω]ν:

[ψηφισμα]

[ενθενδε με]ν τοι § 155

[γυν αυτους εξη]γα

10 [γον ουτως ακου]τας

[ως καθαρως οι]ς με

[τα ταυτ εποιου]ν ει

[σεσθε επειδη γ]αρ

[αφικομεθ εις Ω]ρε

15 [ον και συνεμει]ξα

[μεν τω Προξεν]ωι

[αμελησαντες ο]ν

Col. ii

X

τοι του πλειν [και] § 155

τα προστεταχ[μενα]

πραττειν επορευ

οντο κυκλω και

5 π[ρι]ν εις Μακεδονι

[αν ελθ]ειν τρεις και

[εικοσιν ημερ]ας αν

[ηλωσαμεν τα]ς δε

(c. 8 lines missing)

ορος π[αν]τα πρα &gt; § 156

γματ εν ειρηνη

και σπονδαις ηρει &gt;

20 και διωκειτο Φιλιπ

πος πολλα λεγοντος ε

μου [κ]αι θρυλουν

τος αιει το μεν πρω

τον ως αν εις κοινο(ν)

25 γνωμην αποφαι

νομενου μετα &gt;

ταυτα δ ως αγνο &gt;

ουντας διδασκον

τος τελευτωντος

30 δε ως αν προς πε

πρακοτας αυτους

και ανοσιωτατους

ανθρωπους ουδεν &gt;

υποστειλλομενου

35 ο δε τουτοις αντι

§ 157

Col. iii

(2 lines missing)

ουμενος [οις ελεγον]

§ 157

μεν εγω ε[ψηφιστο δε]

5 [υφ υ]μων ο[υτος ην]

[ει δε κ]αι πα[σιν ηρε]

[σκεν ταυτα τ]οις αλλ[οις]

[πρεσβειν α]ντικ εις[ε]

[σθε εγω] μεν γαρ

10 [ουδεν πω λ]εγω πε

[ρι ουδενο]ς ου

(5 lines missing)

αλλα [δι αυτον και]

δια το μ[η κεκοινω]

νηκεναι των [αδι]

20 κηματων· οτι μ[εν]

γαρ αιχρα[[ε]] και δε[ι]

να και ο[υ π]ροικα >

τα πεπρεσβευμε

να παντες υ[μεις]

25 εωρακατε [οιτινες]

δ οι τουτων [μετε]

χηκο[τες αυτο]

δη[λωσει αλλ εν τωι]

§ 158

χ[ρονωι τους ορκους]

30 ελα[βον παρα των]

συμ[αχων η τα]

αλλα α [προσηκεν]

[ ]

FR. 1-3

Cols. i-ii: these lines overlap with 4570 fr. 3.

Col. i

3 ρημασι: nu ἐφέλευτικόν was not written, though the scribe normally does so elsewhere before words beginning with a vowel and at end of clause. -μασι SVAY. Here it is apparently an accidental omission.

5-6 το ψηφισμα [τουτο. τουτο το ψηφισμα SVAY.

7 Presumably the rubric ψηφισμα stood here, as in other oratorical papyri except when the texts of (usually spurious) documents themselves are inserted: e.g. IV 701 (see Hausmann 38-40); P. Ryl. I 57; P. Ryl. I 58 (see Hausmann 95-109); P. Ant. I 27; and three Aeschines papyri: LX 4037, 4041, 4048. Fuhr notes that the rubric is omitted here in S, where a blank space stands instead.

Col. ii

2 προσεταχ[μενα SVAY Fuhr: προεταχμενα F<sup>1</sup>.

7 εικοσι SVAY, 4570, Fuhr; and the papyrus had enough space for it: εἴκοσι A<sup>1</sup>.

17 π[α]ρα πρα judging from space: πάντα τὰ πρα- SVAY, 4570.

20-1 διωκειτο Φιλιππος with A: διωκειθ' ὁ Φίλιππος SVY.

21-2 εμου SFY: μου F<sup>1</sup> QA.

29 At beginning, τος corrected from τας.

30 ω SVY: om. A.

προς SV: om. Y: προπε- without προς A.

31 αυτοις SA: αὐτοῖς Y (MacDowell): εἰαυτοῖς V.

34 υποστειλλομενου SAY: ὑποστελλόμενος V.

35 ο SVAYP: οὐ A<sup>1</sup>.

Col. iii

18 The papyrus repeated διά before τό, which is nowhere recorded in the tradition.

23-4 The papyrus' reading τα πεπρεσβευμένα is unique, where SVAYP have τὰ πεπραγμένα; cf. §131 τὰ . . . πεπραγμένα. και πεπρεσβευμένα. τὰ πεπρεσβευμένα could be defended as more precise than τὰ πεπραγμένα in the context, recalling as it does the expression occurring several lines above εἰ δὲ καὶ πάντων ἤρεσκε ταῦτα τοῖς ἄλλοις

πρέσβειν, as well as the central topic of the speech. On the other hand, it could have been deduced from an original τὰ πεπραγμένα due to the fact that προῖκα occurs in conjunction with πρεσβεύω three times in this speech: 119 τῷ προῖκα πρεσβεύοντι, 232 προῖκα πρεσβεύειν, 282 προῖκα πεπρεσβευκέναι.

25 εωρακατε. εἰορ- MSS here, but in other passages εἰορ- too is transmitted (Fuhr i p. xxx). Cf. fr. 7. 2. εἰορ- is metrically guaranteed in Old Comedy (e.g. Eup. fr. 193. 3 with KA's note) and later in Machon 40, 42 Gow; εἰορ- appears already in an inscription of the early second century BC (Threatte II 488). Cf. fr. 7. 2 below.

27 αυτο with S and adopted by Fuhr; or αὐτὰ VAYP.

28 Since in the middle of this line a strong pause occurs, we expect a paragraphus at the beginning to mark sentence-end together with a high stop after δηλώσει. The paragraphus appears to have been misplaced at the beginning of the previous line, in which a much less strong pause occurs.

28-9 SVAYP have ἀλλὰ νῆ Δί' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, which is too long for the space available here, i.e. the papyrus omitted the oath and the demonstrative pronoun.

Fr. 4

Col. i

×

[κα]ιτοι και τα αλλ [αν]

§ 173

[απ]αντα ακολουθω[ε]

[τουτ]οις επε[π]ρακ[το]

[ει τις] επει[θετο μοι]

5 [ου] γαρ εγω[γ ουτως α]

[θλι]ορ ουδ α[φρων]

[ην] ωστε χ[ρ]ηματα

[μ]εν διδομαι λαμ

[βα]νοντας ορων ετε

10 [ρο]υς υπερ της προς

[υ]μας φιλοτιμίας· α δ α

νευ μεν δαπανης

ην οια τε πραχθηναι

[πολλωι δε] μειζονας

15 [ειχεν ωφε]λ(ε)ιας πα

[χη τη πολ]ει ταυτ ου

Col. ii

. . . . .

. [ ]  
το μ[η]?

§ 174?

. . . . .

Fr. 4  
Col. i

- 1 *αν* in this position with SVYP: *αν* after *ἀκολούθως* A.  
 2 *απ]αντα*: so SVAYP: *πάντ*- F.  
 5-7 [*ην*] post *ἄφρων* VP: ante *ἄθλιος* add. A: om. SY.  
 8 [*μ]εν* SVAY: om. P<sup>1</sup> add. P rec.  
 13 *ην οια τε* P<sup>1</sup>: *οἰά τ' ἦν* SVAYP.  
 15 [*ειχεν ωφέ]λ(ε)ιας* SVYP: *ὠφελείας* εἶχε A.

Col. ii

- 2 Perhaps from *ἀπειρηφικαν]το μ[η πεμπευ*, §174.

Fr. 5

[*χρον]ο]ν [εντυ]χα] § 175  
 [*νω]ν ουδ οτι[ο]ν  
 [*επα]υσατο Φι[λιπ]  
 [*πωι]· και τα μ[εν]  
 5 [*αλ]λα ζιωπω [Δερ]  
 [*κ]υ[λο]ς δ αυτον [εν]  
 [*Φερ]αις τ[ην νυ]  
 [*κτ ε]φ[υλαττε]ν********

- 5-6 [*Δερ]||[κ]υ[λο]ς* with SVAYP, except *δέρκυλλος* A<sup>1</sup>, where the accent was subsequently deleted.

7-8 *νυ]||[κτ ε]φ[-*. Even if this line-division makes 7 shorter than expected, the remains of the upper end of a long vertical going well above the line in 8—to judge from the interlinear space elsewhere in our fragment—point to φ quite unmistakably. For a similar word-division, see fr. 1-3 col. ii 20-1 above, *πρα>|γματ*.

Fr. 6

[*δι]καια[ν ητις εστιν] § 203  
 [*α]πολογία φ. [c. 2]  
 [.]α· η μεν το[ινυν]  
 [*δι]καια και απ[λη]  
 5 [*η ω]ς ου πεπρακ[ται]  
 [*τα] κατηγορημ[ενα]  
 [*δει]ξαι η ως τ'α' πε[πρα]  
 [*γμ]ενα συμφ[ερει]*******

[*τ]ηι πολει· του[των]  
 10 [*δ ο]υδετερον δ[υνα]**

- 2 [*α]πολογία* SVAYP, the case accepted by Fuhr: *ἀπολογία* Dobree.  
 2-3 φ. [c. 2][.]α: *φεν[ξετ]αι* VYP, om. SA, rejected by Fuhr.  
 7 *τα* superscript in a different, more cursive hand and ink: α has a left loop instead of the scribe's characteristic spiky leg. τὰ before *πεπραγμένα* seems unwanted, nor is it recorded anywhere in the tradition.

Fr. 7

[*πεις]αι γε του[ς αυ] § 204  
 [*τους] εωρακ[οτας]  
 [*υμ]ας και ευ ειδ[ο]  
 [*τας]· ουκουν ως [ου] § 205  
 5 [*κεκοι]νωνηκα [του]  
 [*τοι]ς ουδεν[ος λοι]  
 [*πο]ν μοι δε[ιξαι]  
 [*β]ουλεσθ ο[υν]  
 [*υμιν π]αντα [ταλλα]*********

- 1 γε: om. SVAYP. του[ς: SVAYP: om. Q.  
 2 *εωρακ[οτας]* with SAF<sup>3</sup>Y<sup>pc</sup>P: *εορακότας* FQY<sup>ac</sup> (MacDowell).  
 7 μοι SVAY: *έμοι* F<sup>1</sup>QP.

Fr. 8

*πρεσβ[ευσα δις ου] § 211  
 τωι κ[αι λογον υμιν]  
 δουναι πρ[οσελθων]  
 Αιςχηνη[ς ουτοσι]  
 5 [*το]ς λοχ[ιςταις]**

- 1-2 1. ουτω.  
 3 *δουναι*: *δοῦναι* δις SVAYP.

Fr. 9

[*χ]ρημα[τα ειληφο] § 231*

[τα]ς και δ[ωρα και]  
 [κατ]αιχυν[αντας]  
 [εαυ]τους τ[ην πο]  
 5 [λιω] τους εα[υτων]  
 [παιδας] αφει[σαν]

6 αφει[σαν] SQAP: ἀφίεσαν FYP<sup>1</sup> ut vid. But the papyrus may have read αφει[εσαν] (cf. fr. 11–14 col. iv 11, v 1).

## Fr. 10

[κρι]νετε [του] § 232  
 [το]ς τημερον  
 [α]λλα και νομ[ο](ν)  
 [τι]θεσθε εις παν  
 5 [τα] τον μετα ταυτα  
 [χ]ρ[ο]νον ποτερον  
 χρηματων αιχρ[ο]ν[ . ]'ως

2 After τήμερον (τημερον pap.), there may have been space at end of the line for two letters (οὐ SAV), but extended N suggests line-end and that the papyrus omitted οὐ as do YP.

4–5 παν[τα]: ἅπαντα SVAYP, Fuhr.

## Fr. 11–14

## Col. i

...[  
 τας ε[κκλησιας] § 234  
 εν αις [εμελλετε]  
 βουλε[υεσθαι περι]  
 5 της ε[ιρηνης ουδε]  
 γ[ος ουτε λογου]  
 πω π[αρα τουτων]  
 ουτε [αδικηματος]  
 οντο[ς φανερου το]  
 10 νομι[μον εθος ποι]  
 ων κα[ι επηνεσα]

τουτο[υς και εις]  
 το πρυ[τανειον]  
 εκαλε[σα και νη] § 235  
 15 Δι εγω[γε και τους]  
 παρα τ[ου Φιλιπ]  
 που πρ[εσβεις εξε]  
 νισα [και πανυ]  
 γε ω αν[δρες Αθη]  
 20 ναιοι λ[αμπρωσ]  
 επειδη χα[ρ εωρων]  
 αυτους [και επι]  
 τοις τ[οιουτοις]

## Col. ii

[ηδικη]σθαι και φ[α] § 236  
 [νερο]ς τουτους >  
 [πεπρ]ακοτας αυ  
 [τους γ]ενεσθαι [ο]  
 5 [τ αρτι] μεν ηκον  
 [οι πρ]εσβεις το πρω  
 [τον] εδει δ ακουσαι  
 [τον] δημον τι  
 [λεγου]σιν ουδεπω  
 10 [δε ου]δ ουτος συν  
 [ . . . ]ν δηλος ην  
 [τωι Φιλ]οκρατει ου  
 [τε τοιαν]τα εκει >  
 [νος γρα]φων αν >

## Col. iii

[ ] § 236 (cont.)  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [των ειςιν προτε]ροι μεξ  
 5 [τα ταυτα δε ο]υδεν

[εμοι προς το]υτους  
[οικειον ουδε κοι]υ[ον] γε

(c. 17 lines missing)

25 [ ] . . . [ § 237

υ[πο]στελλο[μενον]  
ημεις δ Αφοβητε  
και συ Φιλοχαρες σε μεν

30 τας [αλ]αβαστροθη

κας γραφοντα και

τα τυμπανα του

[τους] δε υπογραμ

[μα]τεας και τους

τυχοντας αν >

35 [θ]ρωπους και ουδε

Col. iv

[μια]ς κακίας ταν  
[τ αλ]λ ουδε στρατη  
γιας αξια πρεσβει  
ων στρατηγιων >

§ 237 (cont.)

5 των μεγαζτων τι

[μων] ηξιωσαμ[εν]

ει [τοι]νυν μηδ[εν]

[υμ]ων ηδι[κει] μη

[δεις ο]υχ ημεις χα

10 [ριν υμιν ου]θενος >

[αλλα υμεις] ημειν δι

[καιως ει]χετε του

[των πολλο]υς γαρ υ

(9 lines missing)

ζ[οισθε εγω μεν οι]

μ[αι πολλωι βιασον]

25 τα[ι τοινυν ιως]

μ[εγαλοφωνοι και]  
αν[α]ιδεις [ο]υ[τες και]  
το [συ]γγν[ω]μη[ν α]  
δ[ελ]φωι β[ο]ηθ[ειν]

30 προσειλ[ηφ]οτ[ε]ς υ § 239

μεις δε μ[η η]τ[τ]α >

σθε εκε[ινο] ενθυ

μουμενοι οτι του

τοις μεν [το]υτου >

35 προσηκει φρο[ν]τιζει(ν).

Col. v

[υ]μειν δε [των νο]

§ 239 (cont.)

μων και [ολης της πολε]

ως και παρ[α παντα]

των ορκ[ων ους αυ]

5 τοι καθη[σθε ομω]

μοκοτες κ[αι γαρ ει]

τινων δε [δεν]

ται τουτο[νι σω]

ζειν ποτ[ερ αν μη]

10 δεν αδικ[ων φαι]

νηται τ[ην πολιν]

(c. 12 lines missing)

[θεις τ]ορ νομ[ον ει]

25 [δεν] το κρυβδ[ην ψη]

[φιζ]ε[ι]σθαι δια [τι]

[οτι του]των μ[εν ου]

[δεις εισεται] τ[ον ε]

α[ντωι κεχαρισμε]

30 ν[ον υμων οι θεοι]

δ [εισονται και το]

δ[αιμονιον τον]

μ[η τα δικαια ψη]



φ[ισαμενον παρ ων]  
κ[ρειπτον εστιν]

§ 240

Fr. 11–14  
Col. i

2 τας: ταῖς SVYP: ἐν ταῖς Α: <πρὶν γενέσθαι> τὰς ἐκκλησίας Weil. The traces in ι would allow ἐν τ[ω]ι δημῶι as transmitted (or ἐν τ[ω]ι δημῶι εν, if the last letters were squeezed), in which case τας may be simply an error. But since the grammar is difficult, as Weil's conjecture suggests, τας could be a real variant.

9–10 τὸ | νομι[μον] εἶδος SV: τὸ κοινὸν εἶδος S<sup>4p</sup>V<sup>7p</sup>A: τὸ κοινὸν νόμιμον P<sup>1</sup>: τὸ κοινὸν νόμιμον εἶδος YP<sup>2</sup>: τὸ νόμιμον Weil.

13 το πρ[ω]τα[ν]ειον] F corr. QAYP: τὸ om. SV.

15 και SVYP: om. A.

18 The writer left a gap between νι and ελ, avoiding the edge of a sheet join.

22 και SVYP: om. A.

Col. ii

1 τι om. pap.

7 εδει δ ακουσαι: printed by Fuhr. SAY actually have εδει δε ακουσαι (MacDowell). VP give a different order, ακουσαι δε εδει.

9 The papyrus did not share the reading οὐδέποτε possibly given only by A before correction.

10 ου]δ: οὐθ' SVAYP (MacDowell).

10–11 Certainty is impossible, but space at the beginning of 11 may favour *ενερωων* with SVYP against A's *εναιρων*.

12 After τει, high point added after writing in different ink.

13 Stroke at end perhaps an aborted ν rather than a filler-stroke.

13–14 τ[ο]υ]τα κ[ε]ι[ν]ος AP: ἐκείνος τοιαῦτα SVY, adopted by Fuhr.

14 γρα]φω: the right side of the oval of φ is clear. γραφω too is read by A P<sup>1</sup>, whereas SVY have γραφω, printed by Fuhr.

Col. iii

1–3 The missing text will have fitted neatly into three lines almost entirely lost from the beginning of the column. It is impossible to tell whether A's μεμνησθαι stood here, or μέμνησθε of the rest of the tradition (hence it is left unrestored).

26 ]στελλο[: λλ rewritten over ιλ. Omicron not altered. The papyrus as corrected read υπο]στελλο[μενον with SF<sup>7p</sup>QX, adopted by Fuhr, where AP give υποστειλάμενον.

27 δέ following ήμεις not transmitted elsewhere.

28 Supralinear addition in rougher script. SA too read the vocative (nominative at first written in S). Other MSS show signs of trouble at this point: ζμεν εε μέν in VY, an erasure of 5–6 letters before εε in P. In the papyrus before correction the name is only partially present. Thus the papyrus before correction may show an intermediate stage of corruption, carefully corrected, perhaps by collation with a different copy. There is a dot of ink between Υ and ρ, at the point of textual omission.

29–30 SVAYP also give ἀλαβαστροθήκας. ἀλαβαστοθήκας is given by Harpocration.

Col. iv

2–3 ουδε στρατηγίας αξια: ουδέ στρατηγίας γ' αξια VYP: ουδέ γε στρατηγίας αξια A. S has ου στρατηγίας γ' αξια (γ' in rasura), and this is printed by Fuhr, retaining γ'. Cf. 4578 fr. 1 i 5–6 and n.

7–8 μηδ[εν] | υμ]ων SVAY: ήμων μηδέν P.

12 ει]χετε A P<sup>1</sup>, where SVY have εχοιτε, including P<sup>7p</sup>, adopted by Fuhr.

27 It is not clear that there is room for και at line end. Was it omitted?

28 Spacing suggests that the papyrus read *ενγγνώμων* with SVAYP.

30–1 υμεις with SVAYP: ήμεις Q.

31–2 η]τ[α]ι]θε S<sup>7p</sup>, the correct reading: ήττασθαι S<sup>1ac</sup>.

32–3 ενθυ]μουμενοι SVYP: ενθυμηθέντες A.

33–4 του]τοις S<sup>7p</sup>VAP: τούτους S<sup>1ac</sup>Y.

Col. v

2 Not room for δλης before της πόλεως?

24–5 ε]||[δεν]: Spacing suggests that ειδεν was present in our text, in agreement with the MSS except Y<sup>1</sup>, which omitted it, although the form was then added (Y<sup>2</sup>).

25 το SVYP: του A.

25–6 τὸ κρύβδην ψηφίζεσθαι del. Herwerden.

26 δια [τι] with VAYP and the corrector of S, against the original reading in the latter MS, which omitted it, followed by Fuhr.

Fr. 15

[η]ντινα λαοι π]ολ

§ 243

[λοι φημιξω]ι θεος

[νυ τις εστι κα]ι αυ

[τη ουκο]υν Αιχι

5 [νη και ε]παντες

[ουτοι χρη]ματ ε[κ]

[της πρ]εσβειας

1 This line overlaps with 4579 front, 15.

1–3 These lines are longer by 1–3 letters than 4–7, suggesting that they stood in *ekthesis*. Hesiod *Op.* 761–2 is quoted. With line 4, in which the quotation ends, the scribe appears to have reverted to the normal level of the left margin.

2 φημιξω]ι SVY: φημίξουσι A: φημίξαιιν P corr.

Fr. 16–17

Col. i

ετι[ν] Ελληνων]

§ 244

ουδε βαρβ[αρων]

οστις ου φησι

χρηματ εκ της

5 πρεσβειας ειλη

φεναι ωστε ειπ[ερ]

10 *εστιν αληθης [η]  
 φημη καθ υμ[ων]  
 εστιν η παρ[α των]  
 πολλων η[ν οτι]  
 πιστην ει[αι δει]  
 και θεος νυ [τις]  
 [ε]στι και αυτη [και]  
 [ο]τι σοφ[ο]ς η[ν ο ποι]  
 15 [η]της [ο τ]αυ[τα ποι]  
 [η]τας *κυ διωριζας >*  
*[αυ]τος· ετι τ[οι]νυν*  
*[ια]μβια δηπου κυ(ν)*  
*[λε]ξας επεραιεν·*  
 20 *[οιο]ν οστις δ ομειλων*  
*[ηδε]ται κακοις*  
*[ανηρ ου πωπ]οτ' η*  
*[ρωτησα γιγν]ωσκω(ν)*  
*[ο]τι τοιουτος εστιν*  
 25 *[οι]σπερ ηδεται >*  
*[ξ]υνων· ειτα τον*  
*εις τας ορνεις ει*  
*σιοντα και με*  
*[τ]α Πιτταλακου*  
 30 *[π]εριοντα και**

§ 245

Col. ii

*τοιαυ[τ ειπων]  
 αγνοει[τ εφη ποι]  
 ον τινα [ηγειςθαι]  
 δει· ου[κουν Αισχινη]*

FR. 16-17

Col. i

1 The rest of the tradition places the verb following *βαρβάρων* (line 2 here).7 *εστιν* A: *εστ'* SY: om. VP.8 *καθ* SY: *καὶ καθ'* VAP.17 *[αυ]τος* SVAYP: *αὐτόν* A<sup>1</sup>.18 *[ια]μβια*. *ιαμβεία* SVYP: *ει* in ras. F: *ιάμβια* Q: *ιαμβία* A item v. 16 et p. 495, 5. 11.*δηπου* SVYP: om. A Gregor. Cor. VII 1322, 15 W.At end, superscript stroke over *κυ*, representing *κυ(ν)*; read *κυλ*.22-6 *ου . . . [ξ]υνων*: the same extent of the iambic quotation is also preserved in III 410 103-7 = Eur. *Phoenix* fr. 812, 7-9 N<sup>2</sup>.25 *[οι]σπερ* SVAYP: so also presumably 410 106 *εστιν* [. . . . .] *ηδ*·: *οιπερ* S<sup>1</sup>: *εσθ' οἰοισπερ* H. Wolf.26 *τον* SVAYP: *τῶν* A<sup>1</sup>.27 *τας* AYP<sup>1</sup> Gregor.: *τοὺς* SVP<sup>2</sup>.*ορνεις* SVAYP: *ὄρνις* F corr. Gregor.

Col. ii

4 This line overlaps with 4579 back, 1.

A solitary trace of the first letter of the bottom line of the column also survives.

FR. 18

*[υστερον ημε]ρα[ις]* § 293  
*[επι την τραπεζαν]*  
*[εθηκεν επτ]α μ[νας]*

(8 lines missing)

*και ζωζειν κε[λευ]*  
*εις· και μη[ν] οτι [ταυ]* § 294  
*τα μ[ε]ν φοβερα [και]*  
 15 *πρ[ο]νοιας κα[ι]*  
*φυλακη[ς] πολλ[η]ς*  
*δεομενα εφ[οις]*  
*δε κυ εκεινου[ς]*  
*εκρεινες γελω[ς]*  
 20 *εκειθεν οψε[σθε]*  
*ησαν εν Ηλιδ[ι]*  
*τα κοινα κλε[πτον]*  
*τες [τινες και]*  
*μαλα [εικος γε εστιν]*  
 25 *ου[ν] οστις μετεςχεν]*  
*αυ[τοθι νυν του]*  
*τ[ων του καταλυ]*

Fr. 18

Lines 1–24 overlap with P. Teb. II 267 col. i 8–24.

4–11 Fibres stripped.

14 μ[ε]ν: μέν ἐστιν SVAYP, P. Teb. II 267.

14–15 [καί] πρ[ο]νοίας with SVYP, P. Teb. II 267: omitted in A.

15 Extra space at the end of the line (otherwise too short) was probably occupied by a filler sign.

18 δε cu εκεινου[ς]: δ' ἐκείνους cù SVYP, P. Teb. II 267: cù omitted in A.

19 εκρεινες SVAYP (ἐκρινες): εκρεινας P. Teb. 267.

20 εκειθεν VAP: ἐκείνωσ SYF<sup>70</sup> and P. Teb. 267.οψε[ς] SVAYP: εἴσεσθε S<sup>70</sup>.

22 [πτου] must have been written tightly to fit the space.

22–3 κλέπτοντες τὰ κοινὰ τινας SVAYP.

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## 4578. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 237, 240, 306–7

21 3B.28/H(1–3)b  
+ K(1–3)a

8 × 7 cm (fr. 1)

Second/third century

Two fragments, apparently from the same papyrus roll, written along the fibres. Fr. 1 shows remains of two columns plus intercolumnium and lower margin of at least 3 cm, fr. 2 of one column with left margin and most of the intercolumnium; there is a possible trace of another column on the left (a speck of ink opposite 10–11). The back is blank.

The hand is a formal, angular 'Severe Style' with a slight slant to the right. IX 1174 (Turner–Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup> 34) has the same 'squarish' appearance of the hand. P. Berol. inv. 9766 (Seider, *Paläogr. der griech. Pap.* ii. 33) is also comparable, although the present hand is more upright. Like XXVIII 2486 (Seider, ii. 34), it appears more formal and less developed than the Severe Style of the third century. Among the other published Demosthenes papyri, the hand of our papyrus somewhat resembles P. Med. 16 (*In Timocratem*), but is more strictly bilinear, and more upright than LVI 3846 (*In Meidiam*). It is written more slowly and carefully than LVI 3849 (*In Meidiam*) but with much the same 'squarish' letter shapes. None of these hands are objectively dated; their assigned dates recommend a date for our papyrus of the late second or early third century.

The reconstructed lines average 22–3 letters. On this basis the 1065 letters missing between col. i and col. ii of fr. 1 occupied 46–8 lines; therefore col. ii had at least 50 lines (52 at most). For comparisons for the high number of lines see Schubart, *Das Buch bei den Griechen und Römern*, 1961<sup>3</sup>, 56–7, paralleled by other Demosthenes papyri: P. Fay. 8 (49–50 lines); III 462 (45–6 lines); VI 858 (46 lines); A. E. Samuel, *BASP* 2 (1964–5) 33–40 (45 lines). The height of a column can be estimated at 26.5–28 cm.; the total height of the roll must have been at least 33 cm. With no line complete, the width of a column can be estimated

at 5.5–6 cm. On the width of columns in oratorical papyri see W. A. Johnson, *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists*, Copenhagen 1994, 423–7; Turner–Parsons, *GMAW*<sup>2</sup>, 7. The intercolumnium on fr. 1 is approximately 1.4 cm wide. Assuming this was a single papyrus roll containing all of Demosthenes' *De falsa legatione*, 22 columns must be missing between fr. 1 and fr. 2; the whole speech would have occupied 105 columns, giving the papyrus roll a total length of approximately 7.5 m.

The papyrus shows several reading marks. Punctuation is marked (i) by high points, indicating either end of sentence (fr. 1, col. i 2: τυμπα]να; fr. 2, 5–6 γιγνομε]να) or weak pause (fr. 1, col. i 4, 5, 6) and (ii) by paragraphus, also marking end of sentence (fr. 2 below 9). There is one correction (fr. 2, 16, see n.), probably in a hand and ink different from that of the main text. All these elements suggest a carefully written, 'professional' copy. The text affords no opportunity to tell whether or not iota adscript was written (cf. fr. 2, 2). Where we can tell, elision is effected tacitly (fr. 2, 1).

The text of fr. 1 overlaps with that of 4577 above.

Fr. 1

Col. i

. . . . .  
[ . . . . . ]κας § 237  
[γραφοντα και τα τυμπα]να του  
[τους δ υπογραμμ]ατας και  
[τους τυχοντας αν]θρωπους κα[ι]  
5 [ουδεμιας κακιας] ταυτα αλ[λ]  
[ου στρατηγιας γ] αξια προεβ[ε]  
[ων στρατηγιω]ν των μεγα[ις]

Col. ii

. . . . .  
εχωμ[αι του πολλα και δεινα] § 240  
πεπ[ρεβευσθαι σοι η σε κατα]  
εεαντ[ου ος γαρ ωιθης χρηναι]  
τον φ[ανερον τι ποιησαι βουλη]

Fr. 2

. . . . .  
[ . . . . . ] . . .  
[α]ν τ[α]ντ εχ[ων απερχεται δει] § 306  
[νο]ν αυτω [τι δοξαι και δακρυ]  
[ς]αι και οδυρ[ασθαι την Ελλαδα]

- 5 *ως κακως* [διακειται η τοιαν]  
*τα παθη* π[εριορα γιγνομε]  
*να· και συν*[εβουλευεν υμιν]  
*πεμ*[πειν τινας εις Αρκαδιαν]  
*οιτινες κα*[τηγορησουσι των τα]  
10 *Φιλιππου π*[ραττοντων ακου]  
*ειν γαρ εφη* τ[ων φιλων ως εαν]  
*επιστροφη*[ν η πολισ ποιηση]  
*ται και πρς*[βεις πεμψη δι]  
*[κ]η* εκεινο[ι δωσουσι ταυτα] § 307  
15 *μεν τοιωνν* τρ[τε και μαλ ω]  
*ανδρ*[εσ] Αθ[ηνα] [ιοι καλα και τη' πο]  
*[λ]ε* [ι] [ως' αξ] [ι] εδημηγορει επειδη]  
[ ] . . [ ]

Fr. 1  
 Col. i

5-6 αλ[λ][ου στρατηγιας γ' αξια: αλ]λ ουδε στρατηγιας αξια 4577 (fr. 11-14 col. iv). Here we supplement the text of Fuhr, which is that of S (ἀλλ' οὐ στρατηγίας γ' ἄξια (γ' in rasura)) before correction. Of the other MSS, VYP read ἀλλ' οὐδέ στρατηγίας γ' ἄξια: ἀλλ' οὐδέ γε στρατηγίας ἄξια A.

Col. ii

2 πεπ[ ]: the papyrus obviously read πεπρεβευσαι, with all MSS except t (πρεβευσαι).

3 *εαντ*[ου: *εαντου* AFQP: *εαντου* SY. In Ptolemaic papyri, *εαντ*- is predominant in the 3rd cent. BC, becomes less frequent in the 2nd cent. and is not attested in the 1st cent. (cf. E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, i<sup>2</sup>, 2, p. 65; ii, 2, pp. 71-2). *εαντ*- is the common form used in papyri of the Roman period, whereas *εαντ*- only occurs occasionally (cf. F. T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, ii. 168-9). Demosthenes had both forms available to him, but in Attic inscriptions of the fourth century BC *εαντ*- is more frequent than *εαντ*- (Threatte ii. 315); if he did write *εαντ*-, Roman scribes may have regularised the orthography to the conventions of their day.

4 Col. ii seems to descend a line lower than col. i, but this impression may have been mitigated by the slant of the lines when the papyrus was complete.

Fr. 2

2 τ[α]υτ εχ[ων]: spacing shows that the papyrus read ταύτ' ἔχων ἀπέρχεται with SAFY, accepted by Fuhr. PQ<sup>9</sup> read ἔχων ταύτα ἄγει ('recte puto' Blass).

16-17 The papyrus before correction read πολει, an original variant. πόλειως ἄξια is the reading of SVAYP and presumably what the papyrus finally read, after correction; ι was deleted with a diagonal stroke, and ω written suprascript. The article in 16 was presumably corrected at the same time. The genitive is to be preferred according to Attic usage with ἄξιος, the dative being reserved for persons.

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## 4579. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 241-3, 245-6

102/30(a)

7.2 × 11 cm

Third or fourth century

Papyrus codex written in a rough informal hand of semi-documentary character, influenced by the Severe Style; there are some similarities with P. Lit. Lond. 127 (*GBEBP* no. 3b). Line divisions are uncertain and given for the front *exempli gratia*. Iota adscript not written (front 10). *Scriptio plena* (front 13). A wide column, with up to c. 40 letters; approximately 30 lines per page. Unusual variant (back 4). Initial diaereses (front 1, etc.). Punctuation by blank space coinciding with weak pause in front 6.

↓ front

- [τους λογους ειπεν οι κατ α]υτου νυν ὑπ[αρχουσιν α γαρ] § 241  
 [ωρισω συ δικαια οτε Τι]μαρχον εκριω[εσ ταυτα δηπου]  
 [ταυτα και κατα σου π]ροσηκει τοις [αλλοις ισχυ]  
 [ειν ελεγεν τοιωνν τοτε] προς τους δικαζ[τας οτι] § 242  
 5 [απολογησεται δε Δημοσθεν]ης ὑπερ αυτου [και]  
 [κατηγορησει των εμοι πεπρε]βευμενων ειτ[ε εαν]  
 [υμας απαγαγη τω λογω νεανιευ]σεται και περ[ιων]  
 [ερει πως τι τους δικαστας απαγ]ων απ[ο τ]η[ς υπο]  
 [θεσεως ωχομην] το πρ[α]γμα αυτ[ων] φελο[μενος μη]  
 10 [συ γε αλλ υπερ ων] αγωνιζη πε[ρι το]υτων [απολο]  
 [γου τοτε δ ηνικ εκει]νον εκρεινες εξην ς[οι κατηγο]  
 [ρειν και λεγειν ο τι εβου]λου αλλα μην [και επη] § 243  
 [τοις δικασταις ελεγες ουδ]ενα μαρτυρα ε[χων εφ]  
 [οις εκρινες τον ανθρωπον παρ]αχεςθαι [φημη]  
 15 [δ ου τις παμπαν απολλυται ηντι]να λ[αιοι]

→ back

- ουκο]υν Αιςχωνη[ § 245  
 ].[ ] . . [ ]  
 προσ]ηκοντως ερω ο[στις]  
 πρε]ςβευων Αιςχιν[  
 5 αρ]γυριον ειληφ ου[τος]  
 λογο]γραφους τοιωνν[υ § 246

υ]βριζειν πει[  
 ω]ν ενοχ[ος τ]αυτα μεν γ[αρ  
 Ε]υριπιδου τουτο δε το δ[ρα]μ  
 10 ] ουτε Αριστοδημος ὑπεκ[ρι  
 λε]γων διετελεσεν α[λλ]α Μ[ολων  
 αλλ]ος των παλαιων [  
 Σοφοκλεο]υς πολλακις με[ν  
 ] ὑποκεκρι[  
 15 ε]υμφερ[οντως  
 ]..[

↓ front

7 περιων with S<sup>ac</sup>, printed by Fuhr: περιων S<sup>ac</sup>AFQP (MacDowell): περι δν Y.

9 ]φελο[μενος: ὑφελόμενος SVAYP, printed by Fuhr: ἀφελόμενος P<sup>1</sup>.

10 πε[ρι SQAYP<sup>98</sup>, printed by Fuhr: ὑπέρ FP<sup>1</sup>.

14–15 Judging from the space, the quotation of Hesiod, *Op.* 761–2 apparently began in 14 after παραχέσθαι, and continued as though prose, though it is not impossible that it began in *ekthesis* in 15, which would have produced the same alignment in 15.

15 This line overlaps with 4577 fr. 15, 1.

→ back

1 This line overlaps with 4577 fr. 16–17 col. ii 4.

3 προς]ηκοντως: καὶ προσηκόντως SVYP, printed by Fuhr, omitted by A and Gregorius.

4 πρε]ςβευων Αιςχιν[ι: πρεσβέων Φιλοκράτει SVAYP. Presumably the papyrus read Αιςχίνη, an odd and otherwise unattested slip.

5 εἰληφ' οδτος SYP, printed by Fuhr: εἰληφεν οδτος VA.

6 τουν[ν SVAYP<sup>98</sup>: γάρ P<sup>1</sup>.

14 ὑποκέκρται SFQ: ὑποκέκρνται Y: ὑπεκρίνατο S<sup>98</sup>AQ<sup>98</sup>P (MacDowell).

D. OBBINK

#### 4580. DEMOSTHENES, XIX 325

11 1B.149/H(a)

3.3 × 5.1 cm

Second/third century

Scrap from a papyrus roll with ends of ten lines. The hand is a competent if rapidly written mixed 'Severe' style, with no decoration and minimal shading, possibly a sign of early date. Cf. XIII 1604 (pl. I) and XV 1788 (pl. II). As usual, tiny ο, floating between the lines. Less expected is the bowl of ρ, which is slightly larger than the ο. Also unusual is the base of Δ (e.g. 4), which sits at a sharp angle rather than parallel to the line of writing. The back is blank.

[πραγμα]τ απ[ωλετο] § 325  
 [και γαρ τ]οι παραχρη  
 [μα αντι μ]εν του Θεσπι  
 [ακ και Πλα]ταιας ιδειν  
 5 [οικιζομε]νας Ορχομε  
 [νον και Κο]ρωνειαν η  
 [κουσατ η]νδραποδι  
 [ςμενας α]ντι δε του  
 [τας Θηβας ταπ]ε[ι]νας  
 10 [γενεσθαι και περι]αιρε

3 After του a space.

7–8 ην]δραποδι[[ςμενας is required by the space in the papyrus, in concurrence with SVY and printed by Fuhr, who compares Demosth. III 20: ἐξηνδραποδιςμενας AP.

D. OBBINK

## III. ORACULAR TEXTS

## 4581. SORTES ASTRAMPYSCHI

63 6B.69/K(3-5)a  
+ 70/B(1-2)a  
+ 70/E(1)-(3)

Largest fr. 34.5 × 27 cm

Fifth/sixth century

Plate III

These fragments from a codex of the *Sortes Astrampyschi* constitute a unique and significant addition to the growing number of papyrus witnesses to this popular oracular text. The previously published papyri of the *Sortes* are XII 1477, first identified correctly by G. Björck, *Symb. Osl.* 19 (1939) 97, and re-edited by G. M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampyschi* (Beitr. z. klass. Phil. 58 (1974) 17-28), XXXVIII 2832 and 2833 (re-edited by Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampyschi*, 30-63), XLVII 3330, P. Gent inv. 85 (W. Clarysse and R. Stewart, *CE* 63 (1988) 309-314), P. Iand. V 71 and P. Rain. I 33 (both re-edited by J. Lenaerts, *CE* 58 (1983) 191-195; treated once again in R. Stewart, *ZPE* 69 (1987) 237-242), P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 8, and P. Berol. inv. 21341 as well as 21358 (*Ancient Magic and Ritual Power*, ed. M. Meyer and P. Mirecki (Leiden 1995), 221-231).

The codex is written in an upright semi-documentary hand. Iota adscript is not written and the orthography is characterised by frequent iotacisms. There are no surviving page numbers. Leaves 4a-b and 5a-b are conjugate; 2a-b and 3a-b were consecutive, and may also be conjugate. The latter relationship, if verifiable, would be important for the structure of the codex, but the physical condition of the surface does not allow confirmation. Though no leaf survives complete, reconstruction argues that the measurement of each leaf was approximately 18 centimetres in breadth by 28 centimetres in height, placing the codex in Turner's Group 5 (*The Typology of the Early Codex* 16-18). The papyrus contains only portions of the decades of answers, which comprise the bulk of the *Sortes*. The decades are not prefaced with the name of a divinity, numen, or religious figure, such as we find in P. Berol. 21341 and 21358 as well as in the table of correspondences preserved in P. Lugd. Bat. XXV 8 and in the medieval manuscripts. The decade number, bordered by supra- and infralinear bars, stands just to the left of the first answer in each decade. The individual answers are not numbered, but elaborate paragraphoi separate the decades. Some responses are continued, with indentation, on a second line, e.g., 67.8 and 96.1. Occasionally the scribe wrote the final few letters of a response in the interlinear space above the last word rather than begin a new line, e.g.,  $\chi\rho\omicron\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omega'$  (118.1) and  $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\epsilon\upsilon'$  (119.7).

Besides presenting important evidence for the transmission of the text, this papyrus preserves additional decades of answers not found in any of the medieval manuscripts or other papyri. That these decades (= leaves 5a-8b), numbered to at least 208, were an appendage to and not an integral part of the archetypal formulation of the *Sortes Astrampyschi* is attested by the fact that the responses in them are to questions different from those an-

swered in the first 103 decades and that no responses to these otherwise unattested questions appear in the earlier decades. It seems that someone simply added to the basic text additional questions and their corresponding answers, producing a book of fate at least slightly more than twice as long as the original version.

The responses in fragments 5a-8b and the sequence in which they appear within the decades, especially the arrangement of multiple answers to the same query, allow a conjectural reconstruction of the order and wording of some of the questions that comprised this addition to the known text. The table overleaf lists those questions that can be at least partially restored and/or whose relative order can be ascertained. All questions in each group below, as designated by the initial lower case letter of its assigned number, would have appeared in the same sequence in the original list of questions in our text as they are given below. However, because of the way the decades of answers in the *Sortes Astrampyschi* were shuffled in composition (see Browne, *BICS* 17 (1970) 95-100), we cannot be certain that group c preceded group b or that group b came ahead of group d, etc. The letters below simply divide groups of contiguous answers and are not intended to suggest the order of these groups.

Responses that both cannot be read and cannot be placed within a sequence of identifiable responses (e.g., 171.1-10 and 172.1-4) have not been assigned a group number and, hence, do not appear in this list, since they may not, in fact, be answers to questions not already otherwise numbered, but rather additional responses to questions that can be recovered and/or placed within a sequence.

Obvious parallels between the Latin *Sortes Sangallenses* and the standard text of the *Sortes Astrampyschi* are plentiful, see H. Winnefeld, *Sortes Sangallenses* (Bonn 1887) and J. Rendel Harris, *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae* (Cambridge 1901). The parallels that also exist between this addendum to the known text of the *Sortes Astrampyschi* and the *Sortes Sangallenses* are delineated in the commentaries below. In at least one instance the parallel between these texts may illuminate the meaning of a difficult passage in the *Sortes Astrampyschi* (see note on 6b.5).

R. Stewart, 'The Textual Transmission of the *Sortes Astrampyschi*', *Illinois Classical Studies* 11 (1995) 135-147 has argued that it is incorrect to view the so-called first and second editions of the *Sortes Astrampyschi* as separate versions which circulated in antiquity. Here it is sufficient to restate two points only: (1) all papyri of the *Sortes* published to date, inclusive of the fragments below, appear to antedate the production of the shorter version; (2) the shorter version, known as the first edition (G. M. Browne (ed.), *Sortes Astrampyschi*, i: *Ecdosis prior* (Leipzig 1983)), though it is of all the extant witnesses the most faithful to the archetype syntactically, must have been produced in an ingenious attempt to make serviceable once again a manuscript of the original and longer version (known as the second edition) from which the table of correspondences was missing (R. Stewart (ed.), *Sortes Astrampyschi*, ii: *Ecdosis altera* (Leipzig 2000)); this 'second' edition preserves, for the most part, the structure of the archetype. Consequently, below the transcript of these fragments, we give in the second apparatus—the first is diplomatic—the variant readings of both the 'first' (A) and

TABLE 3. Questions and answers in the new decades of the Sortes Astrampsychi

Assigned number in this edition	Question	Responses in these fragments (decade nos.)	
c1	εἰ ἐκδίδωμι τὸ παιδίον πρὸς . . . ;		175.1
c2	εἰ . . . ἦν θέλω . . . ;		175.2
c3	εἰ παιδεύω . . . ;		175.3
c4	εἰ δέδοται μοι . . . ;		175.4
c5	εἰ ἔχω . . . ;		175.5
c6	εἰ συμφέρεται μοι δανείσασθαι;	118.1	175.6
c7	εἰ εὐκαρπῆσει τὸ χωρίον;	118.2	175.7
c8	εἰ ἔχω ἰδεῖν τὴν ἀδελφήν;	118.3	175.8
c9	εἰ ἐφορῶ τοὺς ἐχθρούς;	118.4	175.9
c10	εἰ προτελευτῶ τῆς γυναικός (μου);	117.1	118.5
c11	εἰ πλέω ἢ πεζεύω;	117.2	118.6
c12	irrecoverable	117.3	118.7
c13	εἰ θορυβοῦμαι . . . ;	117.4	118.8
c14	εἰ . . . ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ(?);	117.5	118.9
c15	εἰ ἀπολαμβάνω . . . ;	117.6	118.10
c16	irrecoverable	117.7	
c17	irrecoverable	117.8	
c18	irrecoverable	117.9	
c19	* εἰ . . . κρείττονας(?);	117.10	
		(172.1–4 irrecoverable)	
b1	εἰ πλέω εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν;	116.1	172.5
b2	εἰ ἔσομαι ἀρχιατρός;	116.2	172.6
b3	εἰ λαμβάνω . . . ;	116.3	172.7
b4	εἰ μετοικῶ;	116.4	172.8
b5	εἰ ἐπιτεύξομαι καλοῦ γάμου;	116.5	172.9
b6	εἰ δώσω (οἱ δίδωμι) . . . ;	116.6	172.10
b7	εἰ ὁ υἱός μου ῥήτωρ δύνα[ται γενέσθαι];	116.7	
b8	εἰ πορεύομαι . . . ;	116.8	
b9	εἰ ναυλῶ . . . ;	116.9	
b10	εἰ παραμένω ἢν θέλω [γυναῖκα?]	116.10	
d1	εἰ . . . ἐκ τῆς φίλης μου;	119.1	
d2	εἰ συμφέρεται μοι στρατεύσασθαι;	119.2	173.1
d3	εἰ ἐπιτεύξομαι ἐπὶ γήρου;	119.3	173.2
d4	εἰ συμφέρεται . . . ;	119.4	173.3
d5	εἰ ἔχω . . . τὸν ἀδελφόν μου;	119.5	173.4
d6	irrecoverable	119.6	173.5
d7	εἰ ὑποπτεύω . . . ;	119.7	173.6
d8	εἰ πάσχω . . . ;	119.8	173.7
d9	εἰ ἀπελεύσομαι(?). . . ;	119.9	173.8?

Assigned number in this edition	Question	Responses in these fragments (decade nos.)	
d10	irrecoverable	119.10	
e1	irrecoverable	174.6	
e2	εἰ τηρήσομαι τὴν . . . ;	174.7(?)	x. 1 (8b, line 5)
e3	εἰ ὄψομαι τοὺς ἐμούς;	174.8(?)	x. 2 (8b, line 6)
e4	εἰ ἀπολυθήσομαι τῆς λειτουργίας;	174.9	x. 3 (8b, lines 7–8)
e5	εἰ ἀνακαθήμι(?) τὸ πρόσωπον;	174.10	x. 4 (8b, line 9)
e6	εἰ διαλλάσσομαι . . . ;		x. 5 (8b, line 10)
Groups of contiguous questions with only one identifiable answer			
a1	εἰ (νῦν?) συμφέρεται μοι . . . ;	115.9	
a2	εἰ ὁ ἀ[πόδημος?] προκόπτει;	115.10	
f1	εἰ καταδέδεκε ἢ φίλη . . . ;	176.1	
f2	εἰ φάρμακος ἔστιν ἢν . . . γυναῖκα . . . ;	176.2	
g1	εἰ ἔχω διαβληθῆναι . . . ;	207.5	
g2	irrecoverable	207.6	
g3	εἰ ὄψονται . . . ;	207.7	
g4	irrecoverable	207.8	
g5	εἰ ἔχουσι χρόνον . . . ;	207.9	
g6	εἰ στρατεύουσι (οἱ στρατεύω) . . . ;	207.10	
h1	εἰ ἔχουσιν . . . ;	208.1	
h2	irrecoverable	208.2	
h3	εἰ στρατεύ-(?) . . . ;	208.3	
h4	irrecoverable	208.4	
h5	irrecoverable	208.5	
h6	εἰ προγυμνάζω(?) . . . ;	208.6	
h7	εἰ δανείζω(?) . . . ;	208.7	
h8	εἰ νοσῶ . . . ;	208.8	
h9	εἰ συμφέρεται . . . ;	208.9	
h10	irrecoverable	208.10	

the 'second' (p) editions as well as those of the parallel papyri, namely, XXXVIII **2832** for decades 65.8–67.6–10 and **2833** for decades 73–74.4.

One mark of the 'second' edition is the addition of short comments and adverbial extensions to the responses, such as *κατὰ μέρος* (66.7) and *ἀλλὰ θάρρει* (96.8). When such additions are cited in the apparatus, they are introduced not by a lemma but by a plus sign (+) and are to be understood as coming at the end of the given reading.

Some preliminary remarks on this papyrus were made by G. M. Browne in *Arktouros: Hellenic Studies presented to Bernard M. W. Knox* (1979) 434–9.

1a

→	[οὐκ ἀγοράζει]ι[ε δ' ἐνθυμείσαι]	84
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
[λ	οὐ λήμ]ψη [ἄ]ρτι τὸ ἀργύριον	79
	[λαμ]βάνεις κομ[ι]ᾶτον	78
	[ἀποκαθί]εττασαι ε[ίς τ]ὸν τόπο[ν]	77
5	[οὐ δύνη] ἐτέρω συναλλάξαι	76
	[.]ητη.....ε	75?
	[ε. 10]ρ. .μ. .[.]	74?
	[ὄπου ὑπάγεις ο]ὐ μένεις	73
	[λαμβάνεις τὸ] ὀψώνιον	72
10	[λαμβάνεις τὴν παραθή]κην	71

3 l. λαμβάνεις 8 l. μένεις

1 ἀγοράζει δ' ἐνθυμείσαι (+ ἐὰν θέλεις p) Ap 2-10 30.1-9 in A legi non possunt 2 λαμβάνεις p  
 3 κομητᾶτον καμᾶτω πολλῶ p 4 ἀποκαθίστασαι εἰς τὸν τόπον σου p 5 οὐ δύνασαι p 6 οὐκ  
 ἄφελη ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου οὐδέν p 7 οὐ πωλῆ ἄρτι οὐ γὰρ συμφέρι σοι p 8 οὐ μένεις ὄπου ὑπάγεις p  
 10 οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνεις p

1 You will not buy the thing you have in mind 2 You will not get the money just yet  
 yet 3 You will get furlough 4 You will be restored to your place 5 You will not be able to have dealings with another  
 6 ... 7 ... 8 You will not remain where you are going 9 You will get the salary 10 You will get your deposit back

Due to the much faded and highly lacunose state of this piece many letter-traces on it cannot be read with certainty.

3 κομητᾶτον (= Latin *comteatus*) occurs in A, 1477 ii 7, 2832 22, 33 and as a variant in the margin of E at question 78. κομητᾶτον (= Latin *comitatum*) is found in question 78 and all of its responses in p. In these fragments, 2a, lines 11 (dec. 66.8) and 23 (dec. 67.9) are further responses to question 78.

5 [οὐ δύνη]: δύνασαι is also a possible restoration, but the negative response is the reading of p.  
 6-7 The ink remains do not allow the reading of p or any of its variants to be recovered.

1b

↓	[οὐ]κ ἀγοράζ[εις χωρίον]	99
	[οὐ] παραμ[ένει σοι ἡ φίλη]	98
	οὐ παραμέν[ει] ε[ί] σοι ἡ πρ[ώ]τ[η] γυνή]	97
	ἀπαλλάσσει [τῆς φίλης]	96

5	γῆν δεκάπρωτος	95
	οὐ δύνασαι ἰδὲν τὴν π[ατρίδα]	94
	οὐκ ἀπαρτίεις ὁ εἰ[πιβάλλη]	93
	ο[ὐ] λαμβάν[εις λη]γ[ᾶτον]	92
	πεφαρμάκω[σαι. σεαυτῶ βοήθει]	91
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
10	λγ [οὐ] κα[ταλλάσσει τοῖς κυρίοις]	46
	[μ]ῆ δ[ίδου τὰ γράμματα ἄρτι]	45

6 l. ἰδεῖν 7 l. ἀπαρτίεις

1 + οὐκίαν p 2 σοι ἡ φίλη] σου ὁ πάληξ (sic) A οὐ παραμένεις πρεσβύτερος p 4 τῆς φίλης] τοῦ κλήρου p οὐ συγκροτεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου A 5 οὐ γῆν A οὐ δεκαπρωτεῖς ἄρτι p 6 οὐ θεωρεῖς τὴν πατρίδα A οὐ δύνη ἄρτι τὴν πατρίδα ἰδεῖν p 8 + μὴ προσδόκα p 9 ἐαυτῶ A 10 διαλλάσσει p 11 δῶς p

1 You will not buy land 2 Your girl friend will not remain with you 3 Your first wife will not stay with you 4 You will be separated from your girl friend 5 You will become a decemvir 6 You will not be able to see your homeland 7 You will not finish what you intend 8 You will not get a bequest 9 You have been poisoned. Get help for yourself 10 You will not come to terms with your masters 11 Do not deliver your document just yet

2 Restored on the basis of 2b.17 (69.7) and 3b.9 (73.2), which indicate that question 98 in this papyrus must have concurred with the reading of A: εἰ παραμένει μοι ἡ φίλη; In p, Christian interpolation has altered the query to εἰ παραμένω πρεσβύτερος;

4 Cf. 2b.19 (69.9) and 2832 7 (οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσει τῆς φίλης []). In p, question 96 has been altered to εἰ ἀπαλλάσσομαι τοῦ κλήρου; In A, the question is εἰ συγκροτούμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου; The original question must have been εἰ ἀπαλλάσσομαι τῆς φίλης;

9 Cf. 2a.1 (65.8) and 3b.16 (73.9). Question 91 in A is εἰ φαρμακοῦμαι; and εἰ πεφαρμάκωσαι; in p. In the decades of answers, the manuscripts of p freely interchange forms of φαρμακάω, φαρμακόω, and φαρμακεύω.

2a

→	[πεφαρμ]άκευσαι. ἀσφαλίζου	91
	[οὐκ ἀπα]λλάσσει τῆς γυνεκόσ	90
	[λ]αγθάνι σου ὁ δρακμόσ	89
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
[ξ]ς	[γ]ῆν βιό[π]ρ[ατος] τελε[ίωσ]	85
5	οὐκ ἀγοράζει δ' ἐνθυμῆ	84
	εὐρίσκεις πωλῆσαι ἐπὶ κέρδη	83



	π[ρο]γράφεται τὰ κά. ἔτερα κτή[η]	82
	κερδέεις ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος	81
	ζῆ [ὁ] ἀπόδημος καὶ ἔρχαιτε	80
10	λαμβάνεις τὸ ἀργύριον	79
	[οὐ] λαμβάνει[ς] κ[ομιᾶτον]	78
	οὐκ [ἀπ]οκαθίστασαι εἰς τὸν τόπον	77
	[ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ]	76?
	[ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ]	86?
[ξζ	[ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ]	85?
15	[ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ]	84?
	[ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ]	83?
	[ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ]	82?
	κερδέεις ἀπὸ τοῦ [πράγματος]	81
20	ζῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος κ[αὶ] ἔρχεται	80
	λαμβάνεις τὸ ἀργύριον	
	κατὰ μέρος	79
	οὐ λαμβάνεις κομ[ιᾶτον]	78
	οὐκ ἀποκαθίστασαι [εἰς τὸν τόπον]	77
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	

2 l. γυναικός      3 l. λαμβάνει      5 l. ἀγοράζεις      6 l. εὐρίσκεις, κέρδει      7 l. προγράφεται  
8 l. κερδαίνεις      9 l. ἔρχεται      10 l. λαμβάνεις      11 l. λαμβάνεις      19 l. κερδαίνεις  
21 l. λαμβάνεις      23 l. λαμβάνεις

1 ἀσφαλίζου] ἐαντῶ βοήθησον Α σεαντῶ βοήθει p      2 + ποτε p οὐ καταλλάσσει τῇ γυναικί Α οὐ κατ[ **2832**  
3 + πρὸς ὀλίγον p      4 οὐ γείνη (sic) **2832** βιοπράτης Α βιόπρατος p      τελείως om. p      5 ἐνθυμίσαι Α  
+ οὐ γὰρ συμφέρει p      6 ἐπὶ κέρδη] μετὰ κέρδους Α πωλεῖς καὶ κερδαίνεις πολὺ p      7 ἔτερα κτή[η] ἄλλα  
κερδήσεις Α ἄλλα κτή[η] p      8 κερδήσεις Α + ὀλίγον p      9 + ὑγιαίνων p      10 οὐ λαμβάνεις Α **2832**  
+ κατὰ μέρος p      11 οὐ om. Α **2832** κομητᾶτον ἄρτι p      12 οὐκ ἀφίστασαι ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου Α + σου p  
19 + πολὺ p      20 οὐ ζῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος οὐκ ἔρχεται p      22 κατὰ μέρος] κατὰ μόνος Α ἄρτι p      23 οὐ  
om. Α      κομητᾶτον νῦν p      24 οὐκ ἀποκαθίστασαι] καθίστασαι Α + σου Α

1 You have been poisoned. Take care      2 You will not be separated from your wife  
3 Your flight will escape detection      4 You will be sold into utter slavery      5 You will  
not buy what you desire      6 You will be able to sell at a profit      7 Your belongings  
will be sold at auction. You will acquire others      8 You will profit from the undertaking  
9 The traveller is alive and will return      10 You will get the money      11 You will not  
get furlough      12 You will not be restored to your place      13–18 . . .      19 You will  
profit from the undertaking      20 The traveller is alive and will return      21–2 You will

get the money in part      23 You will not get furlough      24 You will not be restored  
to your place

2a–b and 3a–b are adjacent leaves, as the decade numbers show. The surface condition has not allowed us to confirm if the horizontal fibres are continuous from 3b to 2a, i.e. that the two leaves are conjugate.

1 See commentary on 1b.9 above.

2 Question 90 in both A and p is εἰ ἀπαλλάσσομαι τῆς γυναικός; In many of the responses scribal confusion has changed οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσει to οὐ καταλλάσσει with subsequent compensatory alteration of the predicate from genitive to dative.

4 I restore βιό[π]ρατος on the somewhat uncertain basis of 3b.1 below, which is also a response to question 85. Browne reads this question in **1477** 14 as εἰ γίνομαι βιόπρατος; and argues in his accompanying note that βιόπρατος is a variant of, rather than a mistake for, βιόπρατος, which is the operative word of question 85 and its responses in p (*The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampyschi*, 20, 26–27). Besides **2832** 26, cited in the secondary apparatus above, the only other response to question 85 in the papyri is P. Iand. 5.71.6 (decade 81.6): [γίνη β]ιόπρατος [τελείως].

2b

↓	[ξη	οὐ κλ]η[ρονομεί]ς τὸν πατέρα	33
		[ἐλευ]θερ[οῦ]σαι ἐν τῇ πραγμα[τεία]	32
		[οὐκ ἔ]χ[ει]ς ὑβρισηθῆναι	31
		[χώζ]εται τὸ γεννηθέν	30
5		[χώζ]η τ[η]ς κατη[γορ]ίας	29
		[δ]ώση[ς] ἄρτι [τοῦς] λόγ[ους]	28
		[ἔρ]χεται ὁ ἀπ[όδημ]ο[ς] χ[ρονί]σας	27
		[ο]ὐκ ἀποδίδοι[ς] ἄρτι[ς] ἂ ὀφίλ[εις]	26
		[δ]ανίζη. βραδέως δ[ε] ἀποδ[ίδεις]	25
10		[τί]κτι καὶ τ[ὸ γ]εννώμενον [	24
		~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	[ξθ	οὐ] πλεῖς νῦν	12
		[ἀπολύ]α[ι]ται ὁ συν[ε]χόμε[νος]	103
		[οὐ κατ]α[λ]λάσσει τ[η] γυν[αικί]	102
		[ . . . c. 10 . . . ] . . . [ἱερο]γί[κ]η[ς]	101
15		[οὐ καταλ]αμ[βάν]η μ[οιχός]	100
		[ἀγοράζεις] χ]ω[ρ]ίο[ν] ἢ ἱκί[αν]	99
		[παραμένει] c]οι ἢ φίλη	98
		[παραμένει] c]οι ἢ γυνή	97
		[ἀπαλλάσσει] τῆς φίλης	96
20		[γίνη δεκ]άπρωτος	95
		~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	

[ο *κώζη τῆς ἀ*] *εθενίας* 42  
 [οὐ *κοφικ*] *τεύσης. ἄλλο τι πρ[άτ]τε* 41

6 l. δώσεις 8 l. ἀποδίδεις, ὀφείλεις 9 l. δανείζῃ 10 l. τίκτει 12 l. ἀπολύεται  
 14 l. ἰσχύειν 16 l. οἰκίαν 21 l. ἀεθενίας 22 l. σοφιστεύεις

1 οὐ om. A + οὐ μόνος A 2 οὐκ ἐλευθεροῦσαι ἄρτι (+ μὴ προσδόκα p) Ap 3 οὐχ ὑβρίζῃ μὴ φοβοῦ (+ μᾶλλον χαίρου p) Ap 4 + μετὰ καμάτου p 5 + παρακλήσει p 6 δίδεις A δίδως p ἄρτι om. Ap + μεθ' ὑβρεως A + σου δωρεάν p 7 χρονιάς] βραδέως A + χαίρου p 8 ἄρτι ἂ ὀφείλεις] νῦν ὁ ὀφείλεις A ἂ ὀφείλεις ἄρτι p + ἀλλὰ μετὰ ταῦτα p 9 δὲ ἀποδίδεις] εὐρών A παρ' οὐ θέλεις p 10 τὸ γεννώμενον οὐ τρέφεται A γεννώμενον ἄχρηστον ἔσται p 11 οὐ om. p ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει (quod ad quaestionem 103 quadrat) A 12 + νῦν p οὐκ ἔχεις ἱερατεύσαι (quod ad ecclōsis prioris quaestionem 101 interpolatōne Christiana mutatam quadrat) A; vide responsum 3 in A: ἀπολύεται ὁ συνεχόμενος 13 οὐ om. p + μετὰ χρόνου p οὐ καταλλάσσει τῇ γυναικί A (responsum 4) 14 οὐκ ἔχεις γένεον ἐπισκόπου μὴ ἔλπιζε p (quod ad quaestionem 101 interpolatōne Christiana mutatam quadrat) οὐκ ἰσχύεις ἱερατεύσαι A (responsum 5) 15 καταλαμβάνεσαι ἐὰν μὴ σπεύσης A (responsum 6, quod ad quaestionem interpolatam εἰ καταλαμβάνομαι ὑπὸ ἄρχοντος; quadrat) 16 χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν] ἀλλὰ μετὰ κόπου A (responsum 7) 17 κοί ηἴ φίλη] κοί ἢ γυνή σου σωφρονοῦσα p ὁ πάλληξ A (responsum 8) 18 οὐ παραμένει p σου A (responsum 9) + φίλον ἔχει p 19 + ζηλώσας p οὐ συγκροτεῖται ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου A (responsum 10) 20 + ποτε p 22 οὐχ ὑπάγει ἀλλαχοῦ δὲ ὑπάγει A (quod ad quaestionem 41, quae interpolatōne in ecclōse priore mutata est, quadrat)

1 You will not inherit from your father 2 You will be freed in the matter 3 You are not able to be harmed 4 The baby will survive 5 You will be safe from the accusation 6 You will give an accounting soon 7 The traveller will return after some time 8 You will not pay back the sums you owe just yet 9 You will borrow but will repay it slowly 10 She will give birth and the child . . . 11 You will not sail now 12 The one who is detained will be set free 13 You will not be reconciled with your wife 14 . . . a victor in the games 15 You will not be caught as an adulterer 16 You will buy land or a house 17 Your girl friend will remain with you 18 Your wife will remain with you 19 You will be separated from your girl friend 20 You will become a decemvir 21 You will recover from your illness 22 You will not be a rhetorician. Do something else

2 There is not enough space before ]θερ[ for the negative οὐκ, which is the reading of both A and p.

10 The response may have ended with τρέφεται or ζῆ.

11 Decade 69 has different identities in A and p. In the latter, it is unshuffled decade 115, offering fake responses in slots 1 through 9 and a genuine response to question 95 in slot 10. In A, it is unshuffled decade 106, meaning its first three responses are fakes and slots 4–10 contain genuine answers to questions 102–96 respectively. In this papyrus, the decade follows the pattern of p, hence providing evidence, as I have argued elsewhere (*Illinois Classical Studies* 11 (1995) 135–147) that A results from an attempt to reconstruct a defective manuscript that had the same arrangement of the *Sortes* as that preserved in p. Inasmuch, then, as decade 69 in A derives ultimately from the same exemplar as decade 69 in p and was formed by the mere downward shift of the answers by one slot and the addition of fake responses to the top of the decade, I give the relevant readings of A in the secondary apparatus above.

14 Question 101 in p is εἰ γίνομαι ἐπίσκοπος; In A, it is εἰ γίνομαι ἱερατικός; Cf. 4a.9 (93.9), implying that the original form of the question was εἰ γίνομαι ἱερονικός; The only other response to question 101 in the papyrus is

P. Iand. V 71.7 at decade 82.7, but the fragment offers only ]κ ἔσει πολλ[. On the basis of the responses here and the answers for 82.7 in A and p, R. Stewart restored the line in P. Iand. as [ἱερονικός οὐ]κ ἔσει πολλ[ἂ ἀγωνισάμενος]; see *ZPE* 69 (1987) 238.

19 On question 96, see commentary on 1b.4 above

3a

↓ [εὐρ]ίςκικ τὸ ἀπολλόμενο[ν] 40  
 [φιλ]οπώνικον καὶ ὠφελ[ῆ] 39?  
 [ἔχε]ικ ὠφέλιαν τοῦ πράγμ[α]τος 38?  
 [ἔχε]ικ ἐσχάτην καλήν 37  
 5 [οὐ]χ εὐρίσκικ τὸν φυγόντα 36  
 ἄρξῃ ἐνδόξω 35  
 κληρονομίς τὴν μητέρα 34  
 οὐ κληρονομίς τὸν πατέρα 33  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 [ο]α τίκτικ μετὰ κινδύνου 24  
 10 κινῆ ἐκ τοῦ τόπου 23  
 [β]λά[πτῃ], ἐτέρω δ[ε] κερδέ[νεις] 22  
 [γ]αμ[εῖς] ἦν θέλικ καὶ οἶδα[ς γυναικα] 21  
 [οὐ]κ [ἀγοράζεις τ]ὸ προκί[μ]εν[ον] 20  
 [ε]ὐτυχή[ς] ἐπ' ἐσχ[άτων] 19  
 15 [ς]υναλλάσσει καὶ κ[ερδαίνεις] 18  
 ἀποδημήσει ἐ[ξαπίνης] 17  
 οὐ προκόπτει ἄρτι 16  
 ἐὰν κοινωνί[ς] [ε], β[λάπτῃ] 15  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 οβ γίνῃ βουλευτής 88  
 20 πρέσβευσο[ν]. ἐτοιμ[άζου] 87  
 οὐ φυγαδεύ[ῃ]. μὴ [φοβοῦ] 86

1 l. εὐρίσκεις, ἀπολλόμενον 2 l. φιλοπώνικον 3 l. ὠφέλιαν 5 l. εὐρίσκεις 7–8 l. κληρονομίς 9 l. τίκτει 11 l. κερδαίνεις 12 l. θέλεις 13 l. προκείμενον 14 l. εὐτυχήσεις 15 l. συναλλάσσει 16 l. ἀποδημήσει 17 l. προκόπτει 18 l. κοινωνήσεις

1 + ταχὺ καὶ χαίρη p 2 ἀγορανομίς καὶ ὠφελῆ πολὺ p γίνῃ πρεσβύτερος καὶ εὐμερής A 3 κληρονομίς τὸν φίλον ἐξ ἡμικείας p οὐ κληρονομίς τὸν φίλον A 4 οὐκ ἔχεις A + μόνον εὐχου p 5 οὐχ εὐρίσκεις] οὐχ εὐρήσεις A εὐρήσεις ἄρτι p 6 ἄρξεις καὶ εὐμερήσεις (+ καὶ δοξάζῃ p) Ap 7 οὐ κληρονομίς p + ἄλλω ἀπόκειται p 8 οὐ om. p + μόνος p 10 + ἄφνω ἐπὶ τὸ κρείττον p 11 βλάπτῃ ἐν τούτῳ p ἐτέρω δὲ κερδέεις] ἄλλοθεν δὲ κερδαίνεις A ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐτέρω ὠφελῆ p 12 καὶ οἶδα om. A γαμήσειν ἔχεις ἐπὶ καλῶ σου ἐὰν σπεύσης p 13 + οὐκ ἐπαρκείς p 14 ἐπ' ἐσχάτων] εἰς τὰ ἔσχατα A

+ και οικοδεσποτεῖς p 15 συνάλλαξον A κερδήσεις A + διὰ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων p 16 ἀποδημίεις Ap  
 ἐξαίφνης A + και κερδαίνεις p 17 + μὴ ἔλιπε p 18 + πολὺ p 19 οὐ γίνῃ Ap  
 20 πρεσβεύεις A οὐ πρεσβεύεις μόνος οὐ γὰρ συμφέρεαι σοι p

1 You will find what is lost 2 Work diligently and you will benefit 3 You will have a profit from the affair 4 You will have a good end 5 You will not find the fugitive 6 You will hold office with honour 7 You will inherit from your mother 8 You will not inherit from your father 9 She will give birth with peril 10 You will move from your place 11 You will be harmed, but in another matter you will benefit 12 You will marry a woman whom you desire and know 13 You will not purchase what is offered 14 You will succeed at last 15 You will come to an agreement and profit 16 You will go away suddenly 17 You will not advance just yet 18 If you share in the business, you will suffer 19 You will be a councillor 20 Become an ambassador. Prepare yourself 21 You will not be banished. Do not be afraid

2 Question 39 in p is *εἰ ἀγορανομήσω*; In A, the question itself is illegible, but all of the genuine answers in the text respond to *εἰ γίνομαι πρεσβύτερος*; That p preserves the archetypal form of the query is attested both by the answer to this question in decade 21.2 that is preserved in P. Gent inv. 85.8 as *οὐκ ἀγορανομεῖς ἄρτι* and the fake answer at 98.7 in A, which reads *ἀγορανομεῖς καὶ εὐήμερεῖς* (the fake answers in A antedate Christian interpolations). It is difficult to construe this line as an answer to either the original form or the interpolated form of the question. That the next line is also problematic suggests that the text at this point either is corrupt or preserves forms of questions 38 and 39 not otherwise attested.

3 The answer does not appear to be a response to question 38 (*εἰ κληρονομῶ τοὺς γονεῖς*), as the structure of the decade demands, nor does it appear to be a standard response to any of the other known questions in the *Sortes*. While *ἔχεις ὠφέλειαν* is found frequently in both A and p in the responses to question 75 (*εἰ ὠφελοῦμαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου*; A *εἰ ἔχω ὄφελος ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου*; p), it does not occur in conjunction with (*ἀπὸ*) *τοῦ πράγματος*, which regularly appears in answers to question 81 (*εἰ κερδαίνω [κερδανῶ p] ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος*; Ap).

6 The middle voice in a parallel answer in 4b.8 (96.4) below militates against the temptation to emend *ἄρξῃ* to the active voice to put it in conformity with the verbal form of all answers to question 35 (*εἰ ἄρξω ἐν τῷ πράγματι*;) in all other witnesses.

3b  
 → [γίνῃ βι]όπρατος 85  
 [ἀγόραζε] ὃ ἐνθυμῆ 84  
 [εὐρίσκει]ς πωλήσαι 83  
 [προγρά]φετε τὰ κά 82  
 5 [κερδαίνει]ς ἀπὸ τοῦ πράγματος 81  
 [ζῆ] ὃ ἀπ]όδημος καὶ ἔρχεται 80  
 [οὐ λαμβ]άνεις ἄρτι τὸ ἀργύριον 79  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 [ογ ἀγο]ράζεις ἄρτι ο[ῦ]δέν 99  
 [πα]ραμένει σοι ἢ φίλῃ 98

10 [οὐ π]α[ραμ]ένει σοι ἢ πρῶ[τη γ]υνή 97  
 [οὐ]κ ἀπαλλάσσει [τῆς φίλης] 96  
 [γίν]ῃ δεκάπρωτο[ς] 95  
 [ἔχεις] τὴν πατρίδα [θεωρῆσαι] 94  
 [ἀπαρτ]ίξι[ς] εἰς ὃ ἐπιβ[άλλη] 93  
 15 [λαμβά]νεις [λ]ηγάτ[ο]ν ὀλίγο[ν] 92  
 [οὐ πεφαρμ]άκωσαι, ἀλλὰ ἀτυχίς 91  
 [οὐκ ἔχεις τ]ῆς γυνεκὸς ἀπαλλαγῆνέ 90  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 [οδ οὐ] δώζῃ τῆ]ς κυκοφαντίας 53  
 [κληρονομ]εῖς] τὴν γυναῖκα 52  
 20 [εἰπέ τὴν δ]ίκην. νικᾷς 51  
 [οὐ μένει σο]ν τὰ ὑπάρχοντα 50

4 l. προγράφεται 6 l. ἔρχεται 7 l. λαμβάνεις 8 l. ἀγοράζει 9, 10 l. παραμένει  
 15 l. λαμβάνεις 16 l. ἀτυχίς 17 l. γυναικός, ἀπαλλαγῆναι 19 γυνεκα pap.

1 οὐ γίνῃ Ap βιοπράτης A βιόπρατος τὸ σύνολον p 2 ἐνθυμηθῆς A ἀγοράζεις ὃ ἐνθυμείσαι καὶ μετανοεῖς p 3 + καλῶς A + βραδέως p 4 + ἀλλ' οὐδὲν κτήσῃ A + πρόσεχε p 5 οὐ κερδαίνεις A + καμέ p 6 ἔρχεται ὃ ἀπόδημος μετὰ φίλου καλοῦ p 7 ἄρτι om. p + δλον p τὸ ἀργύριον βραδὺ ἀπολήψῃ A 8 οὐκ ἀγοράζεις Ap ἄρτι om. p οὐδέν] χωρίον A χωρίον ἢ οἰκίαν p 9 σοι om. A ἢ φίλῃ] ὃ πάληξ (sic) A παραμένεις πρεσβύτερος ἕως γήρωσ p 10 σοι om. Ap ἢ πρώτη γυνή] ἢ γυνή σου μοιχᾶται p 11 οὐ συγκροτεῖσαι ἀπὸ τοῦ φίλου A ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ κλήρου μετὰ γήρωσ p 12 δεκάπρωτος ἐξαίφνης (ἐξαίφνης A) Ap **2833** 13 θεωρῆσαι] ἰδεῖν βραδέως δέ p 14 ἐπιβάλλη ταχέως p ἐπιβάλλη βραδέως A 15-17 responsa 8-10 in A e dec. 72.8-10 deprompta sunt 15 ὀλίγον δέ p 16 ἀλλὰ ἀτυχίς] τί ἀκαιρεῖς; p om. **2833** 17 οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσει τῆς γυναικὸς ἀμερίμνα p [οὐ καταλλά]σσει τῆ γυνεκὸς (sic) **2833** 19 οὐ κληρονομεῖς A **2833** + μόνος p 20 + ἀγωνίζου p 21 σοι A + ἕως γήρωσ p

1 You will be sold as a slave 2 Buy the thing you have in mind 3 You will be able to sell 4 Your belongings will be sold at auction 5 You will profit from the undertaking 6 The traveller is alive and will return 7 You will not get the money just now 8 You will buy nothing just now 9 Your girl friend will remain with you 10 Your first wife will not stay with you 11 You will not be separated from your girl friend 12 You will become a decemvir 13 You will be able to see your homeland 14 You will finish what you intend 15 You will get a small bequest 16 You have not been poisoned, but you are unlucky 17 You will not be able to get free of your wife 18 You will not be safe from the allegation 19 You will inherit from your wife 20 Argue your case. You will win 21 Your property will not remain in your possession

1 Cf. 2a.4 (66.1).

11 Uninscribed space on the papyrus makes it appear that the line did not continue after ἀπαλλάσσει. Though

οὐκ ἀπαλλάσσει alone would constitute a sufficient answer to the question, it is more likely that the descender of the ρ in πρώ[τη] in the previous line interrupted the flow of this answer, which would have started up again where there is now a lacuna.

16 See commentary on 1b.9 (32.10) above.

4a			
→	ργ	οὐκ ἀποδημῖς νῦ[ν]	17
		προκόπτεις ἐξαπίνη[ς]	16
		οὐ κοινωνῖς καλῶ[ς]	15
		οὐ στρατεύη ἄρτι	14
5		οὐκ ἔχεις ἐργασίαν	13
		οὐ πλεῖς[ς] . . . η[ς]	12
		ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀ[πολύεται]	103
		οὐ καταλλάσσει [τῇ γυναικί]	102
		γίνη ἱερονίκης	101
10		καταλαμβάνη ἐ[πὶ μοιχείᾳ]	100
		~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	ρδ	ἀγοράζεις [	57
		ἀπαλλάσσει τῆ[ς] συνοχῆς]	56
		οὐ λαμβάνεις ἤν [θέλεις γυναῖκα]	55
		ἀπαλλάσσει τῆς [ἀσθενείας]	54
15		οὐ σώζεις τῆς συ[κοφαντίας]	53
		κληρονομίς τῆν γυναῖκα	52
		εἶπε τῆν δίκην. νικᾷς	51
		μένει σου τὰ ὑπάρχοντα	50
		οὐ λαμβάνεις τῆν [φερνήν]	49
20		[κληρονομεῖς το]ῦς [γονεῖς]	48
		~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	ρε	ἐὰν θῆς παραβόλιον, ἀπολλετο	69
		οὐκ ἔχεις ἐλπίδα πίστεως	68
		ἐπιτεύξῃ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως	67
		καταλλάσσει τῇ φίλῃ	66
25		στρατηγῆς σοὶ οὐ συμφέρι	65
		ἔχεις θ[άν]ατον σὸν (θεωρῆσαι)	64
		οὐ νικᾷς. σιώπα	63

1 l. ἀποδημῖς

2 l. προκόπτεις

3 l. κοινωνῖς

5 l. ἔχεις

6 l. πλεῖς[ς]

11 l. ἀγοράζεις 13 l. λαμβάνεις 14 l. ἀπαλλάσσει 16 l. κληρονομίς γυνεκα pap. 18 l. μένει  
19 l. λαμβάνεις 21 l. ἀπολείται 22, 26 l. ἔχεις 25 l. στρατηγῆσαι, συμφέρι

2 προκόπτεις ρ ἐξαπίνη[ς] ἐξαίφνης Α + ὅτε οὐκ οἶδας ρ 3 κοινωνῖς ἐπὶ βλάβῃ ρ οὐ καλῶς κοινωνῖς  
τῷ πράγματι Α 4 ἄρτι μείνον Α ἄρτι τί σπεύδεις; ρ 5 εἰ πιστῶς ἐρωτᾷς ἐρώτησον ρ ἐρώτησον  
ἐὰν πιστεύης Α (quaestio 13 et in priore et in altera ecclose ex εἰ ἐργάζομαι; ad εἰ ἔστιν ὥρα τοῦ ἐπιβαλέσθαι (+  
τῷ χρησμῷ ρ); mutata est) 6 πλείς μετὰ τὸ ἐγκοπήναι καὶ συμφέρι σοὶ ρ οὐ πλείς οὐ συμφέρι σοὶ Α  
7-10 responsa 7-10 in Α falsa sunt et ad quaestiones 103-100 non quadrant 8 οὐ om. ρ + καὶ μετανοεῖς ρ  
9 ἱερονίκης] ἐπίσκοπος βραδέως ρ 10 οὐ καταλαμβάνη μοιχὸς νῦν ὑπερον δέ ρ 11 οὐ πωλεῖς  
τόν φόρτον ἄρτι ρ οὐ πωλεῖς ἄρτι τὸ φορτίον Α 12 ἀπολύεσαι Α ἀπολύη ρ 13 οὐ γίνη μοναχός Α  
14 ἀπαλλάσσει] σώζεται Αρ + ταχέως ρ 15 οὐ om. Α συκοφαντίας μερίμνα ρ 16 οὐ κληρονομίς Α  
17 νικᾷς] νικᾷς κατ' ἀλήθειαν ρ μὴ ὑπέρθη Α 18 οὐ μένει Α σοὶ Αρ 19 οὐ om. ρ + κατὰ μέρος  
ρ 20 οὐ κληρονομίς ρ + προτελευτᾷς ρ 21 εἰ Α θές παραβόλιον νικᾷς ρ 22 οὐκ om. ρ  
24 γίνη ἐπίσκοπος Α καθίστασαι κληρικὸς μετὰ χρόνον ρ 25 οὐ συμφέρι σοὶ στρατηγῆσαι ρ στρατηγῆσαι καὶ  
ἐὴν μερήσεις Α 26 οὐχ ὄρας ἄρτι θάνατον ρ οὐ θεωρεῖς θάνατον νῦν Α 27 νικᾷς ἀγωνίζου Α

1 You will not go out of town now 2 You will advance suddenly 3 You will  
not share in the business to your advantage 4 You will not serve in the army just yet  
5 You will not have work 6 You will not sail . . . 7 The one who is detained will  
be set free 8 You will not be reconciled with your wife 9 You will be a victor in  
the games 10 You will be caught in adultery 11 You will buy . . . 12 You will  
be released from detention 13 You will not get the woman you desire 14 You will  
recover from your illness 15 You will not be safe from the allegation 16 You will  
inherit from your wife 17 Argue your case. You will win 18 Your property will  
remain in your possession 19 You will not get the dowry 20 You will inherit from  
your parents 21 If you put down a deposit, it will be lost 22 You will not have  
hope of trust 23 You will get the call to office 24 You will be reconciled with your  
girl friend 25 It will not benefit you to be a magistrate 26 You will be able to see  
your death 27 You will not win. Keep silent

This leaf (4a-b) is conjugate with 5a-b; the fold and stitch marks are intact and still visible in the middle of the sheet. Two complete bifolia (8 pp.) once intervened between 4b and 5a, however, as is indicated by the decade numbers.

11 In neither the shorter nor the longer version is there a response to question 57 (εἰ πωλῶ τὸ φορτίον); that begins with a form of ἀγοράζω. This reading, therefore, is unique, corrupt, or responds to a different form of the question.

14 From the form of question 54, εἰ ὁ ἀσθενῶν σώζεται, we would expect a response in the third person rather than the second.

4b		
↓	[οὐ κληρονομεῖς ν]ῦν	62
	[μίθωσαι. οὐ βλά]πτη	61
	[ ]ξῆ	60?
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	

	[φς	]σπαρηναι	
5		[τὸν φ]ίλον	38?
		[οὐκ ἔχεις ἐσχάτ]ην καλήν	37
		[εὐρίσκεις τὸν φ]υγόντα	36
		[οὐ δύνασαι νῦ]ν ἄρξασθε	35
		[κληρονομεῖς τῆ]ν μητέρα	34
10		[οὐ κληρονομεῖ]ς τὸν πατέρα	33
		[ἐλευθεροῖ τῆ]ς πραγματίας	32
		[οὐχ ὑβρί]ζῃ. μὴ ἀγωνία	31
		[ζῆ τὸ γεν]νηθέν. τρέφε	30
		[οὐ σώζῃ] τῆς κατηγορίας	29
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~		
15	[φζ	... ]ς ης ἐκ κόπων	13
		[ὁ ἀπόδ]ημος ἀπέθανεν	80
		[ἐὰν πλε]ύσης, ναυαγίς	12
		[ἀπαρτί]ζει]ς ὁ ἐπιβάλλῃ	93
		[πρε]σβε[ύ]σης ἐπικινδύνως	87
20		[προ]γράφετέ τὰ κά	82
		ἀποκαθ[ί]στασαι εἰς τὸν τόπον	77
		[οὐ]κ οἶκ[ο]δομῆς νῦν	60
		ὁ συνεχόμενος ἀπολύεται	103
		οὐ καταλλάσσει τῆ γυνεκί	102
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~		

8 I. ἄρξασθαι 17 I. ναυαγίς 19 I. πρεσβεύσεις 20 I. προγράφεται 22 I. οἰκοδομῆς  
23 I. ἀπολύεται 24 I. γυναικί

1 κληρονομεῖς οὐ μόνος p responsum in A e dec. 96.8 depromptum est 2 ἐὰν μεθώσῃ βλάβη  
p 3 οἰκονομῆς πιστευθεῖς (+ καὶ δοξάζῃ p) Ap 4-5 οὐ κληρονομεῖς τὸν φίλον Ap 6 + σεαυτῶ  
βοήθει p 7 + εὐθὺς καὶ οὐ λυπῆ p 8 οὐκ ἔχεις ἄρξαι νῦν τί προσδοκᾷς; p ἄρξεις καὶ εὐμερήσεις  
A 9 + οὐ μόνος δε p 10 οὐ om. A + μόνος p 11 ἐλευθεροῦσαι βραδέως (+ ἀλλὰ μὴ λυποῦ p) Ap  
12 + ἀλλὰ θάρρει p 13 τρέφε] καὶ τρέφεται A οὐ ζῆσει τὸ γεννώμενον ἀλλὰ τελευτᾷ p 14 οὐ om. A  
+ μετ' ὀλίγον p 15-22 responsa falsa in p ad quaestiones 19-12 quadrantia 15 ἐπιβαλέσθαι ὥρα  
(ἐστὶν) ἅπαξ μόνον A 16-17 in A ordo reversus est 17 ναυαγίσεις A (responsum 2) 19 πρεσβεύεις  
καὶ κινδυνεύεις A 20 + ἅπαντα A 22 οἰκονομῆς A νῦν] οὐ δέδοται A 23 ἀπολύεται  
ὁ συνεχόμενος A + τῆς συνοχῆς p 24 ἀπαλλάσσει τῆς φίλης μωροποιοί συμφέρει σοι p

1 You will not inherit now 2 Take a lease. You will not suffer a loss 3 . . .  
4-5 . . . your friend 6 You will not have a good end 7 You will find the fugitive  
8 You cannot be an official now 9 You will inherit from your mother 10 You will

not inherit from your father 11 You will be freed from the matter 12 You will  
not be harmed. Do not be distressed 13 The baby will live. Care for it 14 You  
will not be safe from the accusation 15 . . . as a result of your efforts 16 The  
traveller has died 17 If you sail, you will be shipwrecked 18 You will finish what  
you intend 19 You will become an ambassador to your peril 20 Your belongings  
will be sold at auction 21 You will be restored to your place 22 You will not build  
now 23 The one who is detained will be set free 24 You will not be reconciled  
with your wife

3-4 The remaining traces do not correspond to the readings of Ap.

8 This is the only extant response to question 35 (εἰ ἄρξω ἐν τῷ πράγματι;) that employs a middle form  
of ἄρξω.

15 Fake answers in p and **2833** to question 13 indicate that the question was originally εἰ ἐργάζομαι; In Ap  
this was altered to εἰ ἔστιν ὥρα τοῦ ἐπιβαλέσθαι (+ τῷ χρησμῷ p); Restoration of this line is difficult because ]ς ης  
implies an active form.

Decade 97 in our papyrus, though much more similar to A in appearance, is almost certainly equivalent to  
p in function. In p, decade 97 is unshuffled decade 112, containing in slots 1-8 fake answers to questions 19-12 re-  
spectively and valid responses to questions 103 and 102 in slots 9 and 10 respectively. In A, the decade is unshuffled  
14 with a valid response to question 13 in slot 1 and fake answers in slots 2-10. These fakes respond to a random  
sequence of questions except for those in slots 9 and 10, which, following the pattern in p, respond to questions  
103 and 102 respectively. It is, however, precisely this anomalous sequence of fakes and the response to question  
103 that lends credence to the notion that A is not a distinct edition, but is, rather, derived from an attempt to  
restore a missing table of correspondences: since question 103 is not found in the list of queries in A, answers to  
it would not be found in A, if A were not a derivative of p; and the fact that fake answers elsewhere in A are not  
sequential (i.e., they do not respond in sequence to a series of questions that are contiguous in the list of questions)  
suggests that 97-10 in A and, hence, A itself is based on p. The mechanics of this derivation and its effect on  
decade 97 were roughly as follows. In the original composition of the *Sortes*, the author made the operation of  
the text more complex and, hence, less transparent by shuffling the decades of answers, so the set of questions  
answered in any given decade no longer overlapped the set of questions answered in the previous or the following  
decade. Before this shuffling, the table of correspondences which we find in the *Sortes* between the list of questions  
and the decades of answers was not necessary because the oracle-monger needed to do nothing more than add  
the number between 1 and 10 chosen by the inquirer as his lot to the number of the inquirer's question to know  
in which decade the correct response was to be found; it would be the answer in the slot that corresponded to the  
lot number in the decade number that was the sum of the question number and the lot number. For example,  
before shuffling, the first response to question 46 would have been the first answer in decade 47 (46 + 1 = 47). The  
second response to the question would have been the second answer in decade 48 (46 + 2 = 48) and so on. After  
shuffling, a table of correspondences was needed to show that, for example, what had originally been decade 47  
was now decade 33 and what had originally been decade 48 was now decade 5.

It has been argued that A was produced by someone whose copy of the *Sortes* lacked this vital table of cor-  
respondences. He attempted to restore the missing table by determining the unshuffled identity of each decade.  
He did this, logically enough, by looking at the first response in each decade, determining the number of the ques-  
tion to which it responded, and adding one to that number. The defect in his method, however, was his failure to  
realize that some decades begin with fake, i.e., unattainable answers. Such decades would not have been properly  
identified by this restorer's method. Perhaps the restorer saw in his text an answer to question 13 in the first slot  
of decade 97 and, not knowing this was a fake answer, added 1 to 13 to identify the decade as unshuffled decade  
14 in his table. At some point subsequent to the creation of A, the fake answers in p were rewritten so they would  
follow the sequential pattern of the valid responses, leaving decade 97 in earlier witnesses of the text, such as  
this one, looking much more like decade 97 of the corrupt shorter version (A) than that of the more functionally

pristine longer version (p). For a more detailed explanation, see R. Stewart, 'The Textual Transmission of the *Sortes Astrampsychi*', *Illinois Classical Studies* 11 (1995) 135-47.

22 Question 60 in p is *εἰ οἰκονομήσω*; Though the question itself is not preserved in A, all of the answers to it in that manuscript respond to *εἰ οἰκονομήσω*; or similar. In the absence of other responses to question 60 in these fragments, one is unable to determine whether *οἰκοδομεῖς* is simply a scribal error in this instance or represents a form of the question and its responses that is unique to this witness.

5a			
↓	οὐπω συμφέρει σοι συν[	a1	
	οὐπω προέκοψεν ὁ α[	a2	
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~		
ρις	πλευσον εἰς Ἀλεξάν[δρειαν]	b1	
	ἔσῃ ἀρχιατρός, ἐὰν [	b2	
5	οὐ λαμβάν[ι]ς ἄρτι τὸ [	b3	
	μετοίκησον τὴν π[	b4	
	οὐκ ἐπιτεύξῃ καλ[οῦ γάμου]	b5	
	δώσης ἀνεμποδίσ[τως	b6	
	ὁ υἱὸς ῥήτωρ οὐ δύνα[ται γενέσθαι]	b7	
10	πορεύθητ[ι] ἐπὶ τὰ φ[	b8	
	γαύλωσον εἰς Ἀλεξ[άνδρειαν]	b9	
	παράμεινον ἦν θέλ[εις]	b10	
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~		
ρις	οὐ προτελευτᾷς τ[ῆς γυναικός]	c10	
	πλευσον. πεζεύσαι [	c11	
15	προασφαλ[ί]ζου. [ο]ὐκ εἶ[	c12	
	οὐ θορυβί[σ]αι. [...]. [	c13	
	οὐπω σου[.]οο[...]. νκ[		
	μελ[...]. ε[	c14	
	μέρος τ[...]. ον[...]. [		
20	[.....]. [	c15	
	με[	c16	
	[		
	δο. [	c17	
	νη. [	c18	

1 l. συμφέρει      5 l. λαμβάνεις      8 l. δώσεις      12 l. παράμεινον      16 l. θορυβεῖσαι

1 It is not yet to your advantage . . .      2 The one who . . . has not yet advanced

3 Sail to Alexandria . . .      4 You will become a chief physician, if . . .      5 You will not get the . . . just now      6 Move to . . .      7 You will not obtain a good marriage  
8 You will give . . . without hindrance      9 Your son will not be able to become a rhetor  
10 Go to the . . .      11 Pay freight to Alexandria      12 Abide beside . . . which you desire  
13 You will not die before your wife      14 Sail. To go by foot [is not to your advantage?]  
15 Take safeguards in advance . . .      16 You will not be thrown into confusion . . . (or You will not be acclaimed . . .)      17-24 . . .

This leaf and those that follow contain an addition to the known text of *Sortes* that is paralleled in no other witness. The original sequence of these fragments is assured by the decade numbers visible on each piece with the exception of 8a-b, the proper position of which is uncertain.

2 Perhaps ὁ ἀπόδημος (cf. questions 15 (*εἰ προκόπτω ἐν τιμῇ*), 27 (*εἰ ἔρχεται ὁ ἀπόδημος*), and 80 (*εἰ ζῆ ὁ ἀπόδημος*)). Questions about the welfare of a traveller are also found in the *Sortes Sangallenses*, e.g. 6.11 (*in absenti multum lacerat, de quo consultis*).

3 Cf. 6a.17 (172.5).

4 Cf. 6a.18 (172.6).

5 Cf. 6a.19 (172.7).

6 Cf. 6a.20 (172.8). Perhaps τὴν π[όλιν] or π[ατρίδα].

7 Cf. 6a.21 (172.9).

8 Cf. 6a.22 (172.10). The object may be something like τὸν λόγον. Questions regarding the advisability of taking a case to court abound in the *Sortes Astrampsychi*, e.g. 28 (*εἰ δώσω τοὺς λόγους μου ἄρτι*), 51 (*εἰ εἶπω τὴν δίκην*), and 63 (*εἰ νικῶ τὸν ἀντιδικόν*).

9 Cf. question 41 (*εἰ σοφιστεύω*; (altered in A to *εἰ ὑπάγω εἰς τοὺς ἀγίους τόπους*)). The *Sortes Sangallenses* allow the petitioner to ask about his own chances of becoming an orator (e.g. 40.4—*stude, ut homo esse possis, non orator*) and 41.5—*si studeas, potes esse orator non mediocris sed bonus*) and to inquire generally about his son's chances of learning a skill (e.g. 44.2—*ad artificium non habet animus [sic] filius tuus, sed operam discat, quia prode erit [sic] ei et datum [sic] illi est* and 45.3—*poterit artem discere [sic] filius tuus*).

10 A series of responses in the *Sortes Sangallenses* (4.1, 5.2, 6.3, 7.4, 8.5, 9.6) with the basic construction *procede* (or *noli procedere*) *ad publicum* may provide parallels to this answer. If these are true parallels, τὰ φ[αυερά] is a possible supplement.

13 Cf. 5b.7 (118.5) and 6b.15 (175.10).

14 Cf. 5b.8 (118.6). Probably πεζεύσαι οὐ συμφέρει σοι or πεζεύσαι σοι οὐ συμφέρει.

15 Cf. 5b.9 (118.7).

16 Cf. 5b.10 (118.8). For θορυβί[σ]αι, cf. *Sortes Sangallenses* 21.7 (*non vincas; sine causa laboras; cautus esto, quia et turbaberis*) and 38.12 (*noli fugere neque te confundere*).

17-18 Cf. 5b.11 (118.9).

19-20 Cf. 5b.12 (118.10).

24 Unexplained stroke in ecthesis before νη. [

5b			
→	[.....]. [...]. [.....]. ... [.] . κρίττονάς	c19	
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~		
	[ριη] συμφέρει σοι δανίσασθαι ἐπὶ χιρογράφῳ	c6	
	[εὐκαρπ]ήσῃ σου τὸ χωρίον ὡς οὐκ		
	ἐλπίζεις	c7	

5	[ἔχεις ἰδε]ῖν σου τὴν ἀδελφήν	c8
	[ἔφορ]ᾶς ἐκχθρούς σου βράδιον	c9
	[προτελε]υτᾶς τῆς γυνεκός σου	c10
	[πέζευσον.] πλεῦσαι σοὶ οὐ συμφέρι	c11
	[.....]. ασι ἐκπλακῆναι	c12
10	[.....]. τοῦ φόβου. μὴ ἀγωνία	c13
	[.....]. ἦν ἐν τῷ ὀφθικίῳ	c14
	κοπιάσας ἀπολήμψῃ τὰ κά	c15
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	[ριθ] ..... ] ζ ἐκ τῆς φίλης σου	d1
	ζ[υ]μφέρι σοὶ στρατεύσασθαι	d2
15	[.....]. ἔπιτεύξῃ ἐπὶ γήρου	d3
	[.....]. οσον μάτιν. οὐ συμφέρι	d4
	[.....]. τὸν ἀδελφόν σου ὅτε	
	[οὐκ ἐλπίζ]εις	d5
	[.....]. ρε τὴν ἐπισ	
20	[.....]. ... αι	d6
	[.....] c. 21 κ]ατὰ γένεσιν'	d7
	[.....] c. 22 ]ζ οὐδὲ σύ	d8
	[.....] c. 20 οὐ]κ ἐλπίζεις	d9
	[.....] c. 22 ].....	d10

1 l. κρείττονας 2 l. δανείσασθαι, χειρογράφω 3 l. εὐκαρπῆσει 4 l. ἐλπίζεις 5 v of  
την corr. from α 6 l. ἐχθρούς 7 l. γυναικός 8 l. συμφέρι 14 l. συμφέρι 15 l. γήρωσ  
16 l. μάτην, συμφέρι 18 l. ἐλπίζεις 24 l. ἐλπίζεις

1 ... 2 It is to your advantage to borrow on a note 3-4 Your field will yield  
a good crop beyond your expectation 5 You will be able to see your sister 6 You will  
have control over your enemies after a while 7 You will die before your wife 8 Go  
on foot. It is not to your advantage to sail 9 ... 10 ... from fear. Do not be  
distressed 11 ... in the office 12 With effort you will regain your belongings  
13 ... from your girl friend 14 It is to your advantage to serve as a soldier 15 You  
... be successful in old age 16 ... in vain. It is not to your advantage 17-18 ...  
your brother when you do not expect it 19-20 ... 21 ... 22 ... 23 ...  
nor do you expect 24 ...

2 Cf. 6b.11 (175.6).

3-4 Cf. 6b.12 (175.7). Similar responses occur in the *Sortes Sangallenses*, e.g., 2.9 (*hunc annu [sic] fructi miserimi*

*sunt; cave ne inopiam patiaris*), 3.10 (*hoc anno fructus bonus tibi significatur*), and 4.11 (*hunc annum fructi rari nascuntur et tempus laboriosum significat*).

5 Cf. 6b.13 (175.8).

6 Cf. 6b.14 (175.9). While there appears to be enough room in the lacuna for οὐκ before ἐφορ]ᾶς, a positive answer is suggested by βράδιον. The sense of ἐφορώ implied by the context is without adequate parallel. Both here and in 6b.14 the meaning appears to be 'oversee' in the sense of 'have power or control over.'

7 Cf. 5a.13 (117.1) and 6b.15 (175.10).

8 Cf. 5a.14 (117.2).

9 Cf. 5a.15 (117.3).

10 Cf. 5a.16 (117.4).

11 Cf. 5a.17-18 (117.5).

12 Cf. 5a.19-20 (117.6).

14 Cf. 6a.23 (173.1).

15 Cf. 6a.24 (173.2). Perhaps [οὐχ ὀλωσ ἐ]πιτεύξῃ or [οὐ καλῶς ἐ]πιτεύξῃ.

16 Cf. 6a.25 (173.3).

17-18 The parallel answer in 6a.26 (173.4) suggests that the first word in the lacuna is ἔχεις. The most likely construction would then require an infinitive. ἔχεις ἰδεῖν (probably written ἔχεις ἰδῆν), following the model of 5b.5 (118.3) and 6b.13 (175.8) is the probable supplement.

19-20 Cf. 6a.27 (173.5). As the parallel answer implies, the primary verb of this response was probably a form of πράσσω.

21 Cf. 6a.28 (173.6). The parallel argues that the main verb in the lacuna was ὑποπτεύεις, but it is unclear what modifiers accompanied the word. Even οὐ καλῶς ὑποπτεύεις is too short to fill the lacuna adequately.

22 Cf. 6a.29 (173.7). Some form of πάσχω must have been the operative word lost in the lacuna.

6a

↓

	[.....]. ἀδοσ[	
	[.....] παιδίον [	
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	[ροα] .....]υσοσι[.]. [	
	[.....]θ. ουσ[.]. [	
5	[.....]. λικ[.]. δ[	
	[.....]. συν[.]. ψ[	
	[.....]ρο. κο. [εν[	
	[.....]σοι ταδ[.]. ζικ[	
	[.....]θελησ[.]. λ[ c. 7 ] . [	
10	[οὐ λή]μψῃ χάριν[	
	[.....]χι ερε[.]. α[	
	[οὐ συμ]φέρι σοὶ[.]. [ c. 9 ] . [	
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	[ροβ] .....]ωσονχ[.]. συμ]φέρι σοὶ	
	[.....]θερωσ[.]. [.....]λλακιδαγ[	
15	φ[.]. ατεσον[.]. ευθεωσ	



	[οὐ]κυμφέρι σοι. [...] τευσαθαι	
	πλ[εῦ]ς[αι] εἰς Ἀλεξάνδριαν κυμφ[έρι]	b1
	ἔση ἀρχιατρ[ός, βρ]άδιον δέ	b2
	λήμψη τὸ [ . . . . . ] μα κοπιάσας	b3
20	οὐ κυμφ[έ]ρ[ι σοι] κατοικὴν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι	b4
	ἐπιτεύξῃ κ[αλοῦ] γάμου, οὐ νῦν δέ	b5
	δώσης τὸν [ . . . μ]ετὰ κόπου πολλοῦ	b6
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
	[ρ]ογ ο[ὐ]κυμφέρι σοι στρατεύσασθαι	d2
	ἐπιτεύξῃ εἰς γ[ή]ρου[ς, μ]ετρίως δέ	d3
25	οὐ κυμφέρι. . . . [ . . . ] [ . . . ] ο. ω. [ . . . ]	d4
	οὐκ ἔχῃς α. . . . τὸν [ἀ]δελφόν σου	d5
	πράξον τὴν κ. ζτην[ ]επι. [ . . . ] ην	d6
	καλῶς ὑποπτεύεις εκθ. . . . χ. . .	d7
	οὐ πάσχεις κα. . . . νε. . . να. νε. ε. [	d8
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~	
30	ἀπελεύει ἐν χειρ[ε]ς. [ . . . ] [ 4-5 ].	dg?

12, 13, 16, 20, 23, 25 l. κυμφέρι 17 l. Ἀλεξάνδριαν 20 l. κατοικὴν 22 l. δώσει  
24 l. γήρωσ 26 l. ἔχεις 28 ὑποπτενεις 29 l. πάσχεις 30 l. ἀπελεύει

1 . . . 2 . . . child . . . 3-9 . . . 10 You will not get thanks . . . 11 . . .  
12 It is not to your advantage . . . 13-15 . . . 16 It is not to your advantage . . .  
17 It is to your advantage to sail to Alexandria 18 You will become a chief physician,  
but after a while 19 You will get the . . . by working hard 20 It is not to your  
advantage to dwell in your fatherland 21 You will obtain a good marriage, but not now  
22 You will give your . . . with great effort 23 It is not to your advantage to serve as  
a soldier 24 You will be successful in old age, but moderately 25 It is not to your  
advantage . . . 26 You will not be able to . . . your brother 27 . . . 28 You do  
well to suspect . . . 29 You will not suffer . . . 30 You will go away . . .

13 A portion of the infralinear mark below the decade number is visible.  
14 Perhaps παλλακίδαγ?  
16 στρατεύσασθαι? Cf. 23. But the traces seem to require one letter too many.  
17 Cf. 5a.3 (116.1).  
18 Cf. 5a.4 (116.2).  
19 Cf. 5a.5 (116.3).  
20 Cf. 5a.6 (116.4). For possible parallels see *Sortes Sangallenses* 50.11 (*bene tibi est; ut quid patriam tuam desideras?*),  
50.12. (*habes in factis patriam tuam videre*), and 51.12 (*et si reverteris, non constas in patriam tuam*).  
21 Cf. 5a.7 (116.5).

22 Cf. 5a.8 (116.6).  
23 Cf. 5b.14 (119.2).  
24 εἰς must be a mistake for ἐπί. Cf. 5b.15 (119.3).  
25 Cf. 5b.16 (119.4).  
26 Cf. 5b.17-18 (119.5).  
27 Cf. 5b.19-20 (119.6). For the form of final N cf. 3b.7.  
28 Cf. 5b.21 (119.7).  
29 Cf. 5b.22 (119.8).  
30 After the series of paragraphoi had been drawn, the original hand has added this extra response (= dg?) below them; the reading is complicated because the text is entangled with the paragraphoi.

6b			
→	[ c. 14 ] . . . . . [		e1
	[ c. 14 ] . . . ἀσφαλίζο[υ]		e2
	[ὄψη] τοὺς σοῦς. μὴ ἀγ[ω]νία. ζώων		e3
	δαπανήσας ἀπολυθίση τῆς λειτουργίας		e4
5	μὴ ἀνακαθίσης ὁ θέλει πρόσωπον. μετανοεῖς		e5
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~		
ροε	ἔκδος τὸ παιδίον πρὸς ταμ. . . ἐν. . . ἰδη		c1
	ἦν θέλει τελ[ . . . . . ] . . . . .		c2
	παίδευσον τὸ π[ . . . ] λ. ἀπολαβ. . . . .		c3
	δέδοται σοι τα[ . . . . . ] ικακλι. . . . .		c4
10	ἔχῃς καλῶ θ[ . . . . . ] τελευτησ. . . [ . . . ]		c5
	μὴ δανίσῃ ἐπὶ χειρογράφω		c6
	εὐκαρπήσῃ σου τὸ χωρίον		c7
	ἔχῃς ἰ[δεῖν] τὴν ἀδελφὴν σου. μὴ ολ. . . [		c8
	ἐφόψει ταχὺ τοὺς ἐκχθρούς σου		c9
15	οὐ προτελευτᾷς τῆς συμβίω σου		c10
	~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ ~		
ροσ	οὐ καταδέδεκέν σε ἢ φίλη σο[υ]		f1
	ἀληθῶς ἐστιν φάρμακος ἦν α[		f2

γυνεκα

4 l. ἀπολυθίση, λειτουργίας 5 l. ἀνακαθήσῃ(?), θέλει 7 l. θέλει 10 l. ἔχεις  
11 l. δανίσῃ, χειρογράφω 12 l. εὐκαρπήσει 13 l. ἔχεις 14 l. ἐπόψει, ἐκθρούς 15 l. συμβίου  
18 l. γυναικα

1 . . . 2 . . . Take care 3 You will see your family. Do not be distressed.  
They are alive 4 You will be freed from your liturgy after expenditure 5 Do not



abandon(?) the person you desire. You will be sorry 6 Give your child over to . . .  
 7 The (woman?) you desire . . . 8 Educate your . . . 9 It is granted to you . . .  
 10 You are able (or you have) . . . 11 Do not borrow money on a note 12 Your field  
 will yield a good crop 13 You will be able to see your sister. Do not . . . 14 You will  
 soon have control over your enemies 15 You will not die before your wife 16 Your  
 girl friend has not put a spell on you 17-18 It is indeed a poisoner whom . . . your wife

1 Above this line, the horizontal fibres have mostly been stripped from an area of c. 5 lines more. Occasional ink traces remain on the exposed vertical fibres.

2 Cf. 8b.5 (x.1).

3 Cf. 8b.6 (x.2).

4 Cf. 8b.7-8 (x.3).

5 Cf. 8b.9 (x.4). *Sortes Sangallenses* 12.11 (*nolī dimittere persona* [sic] *de qua soniaris* = 'do not abandon the person about whom you are concerned' [for the meaning of *sonior* see Winnefeld, p.12]) may elucidate the meaning of the troublesome *μὴ ἀνακαθίεναι* (*ἀνακαθίεναι* in 8b.9). If our response is parallel to this answer, *ἀνακαθίεναι* is probably the second person singular aorist active subjunctive of *ἀνακαθίηναι* (i.e. *ἀνακαθήσκει*), which, although not attested in LSJ or Lampe's *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, would reflect the penchant of late Greek for compounding verb prefixes. Its meaning would be 'send down', 'let down', hence 'dismiss'. The response would then mean 'do not dismiss (or desert) the person you desire. You will be sorry.'

10 Or *καλω* for *καλοῦ*, cf. 15?

11 Cf. 5b.2 (118.1).

12 Cf. 5b.3-4 (118.2).

13 Cf. 5b.5 (118.3).

14 Cf. 5b.6 (118.4).

15 Cf. 5a.13 (117.1) and 5b.7 (118.5).

17-18 The terrifying possibility of being poisoned without being aware of the act motivates question 91 in the *Sortes Astrapyschi* (see commentary on 1b.9 [32.10] above). If, as seems likely, this response expresses a fear that one is being poisoned by one's wife, *Sortes Sangallenses* 48.10 is a parallel: *succurre tibi, quia a muliere medicamentatus es*. Here the fear may be that one is married to a poisoner or sorcerer. The sense of the response may be "It is indeed a poisoner [sorcerer], whom you are taking (17 *ἄ[γεις]*?) as your wife."

7a

↓

]ε  
 ]φ χωρίω  
 ~ ~  
 τ]ὸ χρῆμα  
 ?στρα]τεύσασθ(αι)  
 5 ].  
 δ]λίγον νοσοῦντα  
 ]. ἔρχεταιί σοι  
 ].  
 ]ως ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ σου  
 10 c]υμβίῳ σου

] φίλη σου  
 ].ηλι  
 ]κακός ἐστι. [.]. . . .υ  
 ]. γην τὰ τέκνα  
 15 [μὴ] λυποῦ  
 ]ε τῶν σῶν  
 ]

4 ]τεύσασθ 10 1. συμβίου?

2 . . . the place 3 . . . the matter 4 . . . to serve(?) 5 . . . 6 . . .  
 being slightly ill 7-8 . . . comes to you . . . 9 . . . in your home 10 . . . your  
 spouse 11-12 . . . your girl friend . . . 13 . . . 14-15 . . . the children. Do  
 not be grieved 16-17 . . .

3-17 The length of the lines suggests that responses 1-10 of this decade began in lines 3, 4, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 16 respectively. Lines 5, 8, 12, 15 and 17 then contained the endings of responses begun in the previous lines.

17 There are no traces of expected paragraphoi in the deep space below 16, so that a short line concluding the response starting in 16 must have come here.

7b

→ ἔχει διαβληθῆ[ναι] g1  
 φθονηθῆς ὑπὸ [  
 σεα[ g2  
 ὄψονταιί σοι . . [ g3  
 5 οὐ [.]. λ. . . [ g4  
 ἔχουσιν χρόν[ον g5  
 στρατεύοντα[ι ? g6  
 ~ ~ ~ ~ ~  
 cη ἔχουσιν [ h1  
 οὐ σοι . . [ h2  
 10 στρατε[υ- h3  
 . . . . [ h4  
 [ ] h4  
 μὴ ἀμε[ h5  
 προγυμν . . [ h6

15	δανικα .[	h7
	νοσίε ε . . . [	h8
	συμφέ[ρει σοι	h9
	[.] . . . [	h10

1 l. ἔχεις    2 ὑπο    4 l. σε?    16 l. νοσίε

1 You are capable of being slandered . . .    2-3 You will be envied by . . .  
 4 (They) will see you(?) . . .    5 . . .    6 They have time . . .    7 They will serve  
 as soldiers (or Serve as a soldier) . . .    8 They have (or are able) . . .    9-14 . . .  
 15 Having lent(?) . . .    16 You are ill . . .    17 It is to your advantage . . .    18 . . .

7 Also possible is the articulation *στράτευσον τ.* [.

11-12 Blank space below line 11 indicates that the answer occupied two lines.

14 Undoubtedly some form of *προγυμνάζω*, probably second person indicative or imperative.

8a

↓

	]. π[
	]. λι.
	]. . . ειλακη
	]εδιου
5	]. μιας
	] κ[ρ]ίττονας
	] ταςθε
	~ ~
	ἀε]φαλίζου
	]ν ἐνθυμῆ γάμω
10	συ]μφέρει σοι μαθῖν
	] . ν παιδευθέν
	]ν

6 l. κρείττονας    10 l. συμφέρι, μαθεῖν

7 Perhaps ]γαςθε; probably the ending of an aorist middle infinitive.

8b

→	[. . . . .] . . . [	
	. αχ . . . . . πι . [	
	. θε[	
	θελη . . . . [	
	~ ~ ~	
5	] . . . τηρήσει τήν [	e2
	ᾧψη τοὺς σο[ύς	e3
	ἀπολυθήσει τῆς λ[ειτουργίας]	
	δαπ[ανήσας]	e4
	μὴ ἀνακαθήσει δ' θέ[λεις πρόσωπον]	e5
10	κοπιάσας διαλλάσει . [	e6

9 l. ἀνακαθήσει(?)

1-4 . . .    5 You will take guard against the . . .    6 You will see your family . . .  
 7-8 You will be freed from your liturgy after expenditure    9 Do not abandon the  
 person you desire    10 After working diligently you will be reconciled . . .

The absence of a legible decade number on this piece prevents us from positioning it correctly, but, from the parallels in decade 174 to lines 5-9 above, it is certain that the fragment derives from the portion of the codex that was an addition to what has become the standard text of the *Sortes*.

5 Cf. 6b.2 (174.7).

6 Cf. 6b.3 (174.8).

7-8 Cf. 6b.4 (174.9).

9 Cf. 6b.5 (174.10).

R. STEWART

#### IV. DOCUMENTARY TEXTS

##### 4582. PETITION FROM BEEKEEPERS

34 4B.73/B(1-2)a

14.5 × 17.5 cm

14-27 September 16

Published by R. D. Sullivan, 'A petition of beekeepers at Oxyrhynchus', *BASP* 10 (1973) 5-13, with plate.

Two brothers, beekeepers, petition the strategus regarding damage to 87 out of 487 hives belonging to themselves and the sons of one of them. The end of the text is restored partly following the proposals of M. Z. Kopidakis, *MPhL* 2 (1977) 203-5. On beekeeping see also 4583. The back is blank.

Ἡροστράτῳ στρατηγῷ  
 παρὰ Ἡρακ[λ]είου καὶ Ὀννώφριος ἀμφοτέρων Σαραπίωνο(ς)  
 τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλεως μελισουργῶν.  
 ὑπάρχει ἡμεῖν καὶ τοῖς τοῦ Ἡρακλείου υἱο(ῖ)ς ζμήνη  
 5 μελίσση τετρακόσια ὄγδοήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἀφ' ὧν  
 εἴχαμεν ἐν κώμηι Τόκα τῆς μέσης τοπαρχίας  
 ἐν τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Πέτνη ἐν τῇ Διογένους οἰκίᾳ  
 ζμήνη ὄγδοήκοντα ἑπτὰ ἀκολουθῶς ἢ πεποήμε-  
 θα τῷ διε[λ]ηλυθότι β (ἔτει) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ἀπογρα-  
 10 φῆι. τῇ [δὲ] ἰζ̄ τοῦ ἐγρετώτος μηνὸς Σεβαστοῦ  
 τοῦ γ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρ[ο]ς Σεβαστοῦ παραγεννηθέντων  
 ἡμῶν εἰς τὸν δηλούμενον τόπον πρὸς τὴν τῶν  
 ζμηνῶν ἐπίσκεψιν, εὔρομεν μέρος τῶν ζμη-  
 νῶν διεφθαρμένον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ζμήνη ἀπὸ  
 15 ἀσθενείας ὄντα (ᾧστε) κινδυνεύειν λειφθῆναι. καὶ πά-  
 ρα ἐπηρωτήσαμεν τὸν τῆς οἰκίας κύριον  
 Διογένην περὶ τούτων καὶ ἔφη μοι ὑπὸ Σαραπίωνο(ς)  
 τοῦ Θέωγος γυμνασιάρχου μεθ' ὧν ἐπήγαγεν  
 20 ἐν αὐτῷ[ι] διὰ νυκτὸς λαθραίως τὰ ὅλα ζμήνη  
 [ἐνδον πηλῶ π]εφράχθαι ἐφ' ἰκανὰς ἡμέρας  
 [καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔ]χειν τὰ ζμήνη διέξοδον τοῦ νε-  
 [ c. 10 ] . . . καὶ συμβέβηκεν μέρη του  
 [ c. 10 ] . [ c. 3 ] . [ c. 4 ] . [ c. 3 ] . . . [ . ] . . . εν

1 l. στρατηγῷ 2, 17 Σαραπίωνο 3, 5 Filler stroke at end of line 4 l. ἡμῶν Dot at  
 line end 1. ζμήνη 5 l. μελίσση 6 l. εἴχομεν 8 l. ζμήνη ε at end rewritten to give  
 πεποήμεε 8-9 l. πεποήμεθα 9, 11 L 10 Foot of υ at end of line extended as filler stroke  
 13, 14 l. ζμηνῶν 14, 19, 21 l. ζμήνη

"To Herostratus, strategus, from Heraclius and Onnophris, both sons of Sarapion, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, beekeepers. There belong to us and to the sons of Heraclius four hundred and eighty-seven beehives, of which we had eighty-seven hives in the village of Toka in the middle toparchy, in the place called Petne on the property of Diogenes, in accordance with the registration which we made in the past 2nd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus. But on the 17th of the present month Sebastus of the 3rd year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, when we arrived at the above mentioned place for the inspection of the hives, we found part of the hives ruined and the rest of the hives in danger of being abandoned because of their weakened condition. Immediately we questioned Diogenes the owner of the property about these things and he told me that it was by Sarapion agent(?) of Theon, gymnasiarch, along with those he had brought with him by night secretly, that all the hives had been blocked up inside with clay for several days and that the hives had no way out for the . . . , and it resulted that parts of the . . . "

1 For Herostratus see now G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 86. 4582 remains the only attestation for him. Cf. 10 n. below regarding the date.

4 ζμήνη (l. ζμήνη). For ζμ- in place of σμ-, employed consistently in this papyrus, see Gignac, *Grammar* i. 120-2, where (p. 122) no examples of ζμήνος were cited. Cf. also XLVIII 3410 10-11 with note (citing the ed. pr. of the present text).

6 For εἴχομεν see Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 332.

For Toka see now P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 205-6, where this papyrus is the earliest reference cited.

7 For Petne see Pruneti, op. cit. 149-50, where again this papyrus is the first reference cited. This must always have been a small place, and was called an ἐποίκιον even in the third century and a χωρίον in the fifth, but other evidence (I 72) already has it as a village in its own right by the end of the first century.

10 The 17th of Sebastus (= Thoth), 3 Tiberius = 14 September, AD 16. The text will date between then and 27 September since the month is still current. Only this unknown day is strictly valid, of course, as a date for the tenure of the strategus Herostratus (1), as Bastianini and Whitehorne loc. cit. make clear (cf. their conventions, p. 9).

17-18 Sarapion son of Theon is listed from this text as no. 7 in the list of gymnasiarchs by P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques* (1986) 2. For the strategus and gymnasiarch Sarapion (ibid. no. 6), locality unknown, referred to in the ed. pr. from P. Mert. II 62, see also Bastianini and Whitehorne, op. cit. 112. The Merton papyrus remains the only reference for that Sarapion, but the text is to be re-dated to 22 March AD 7, since Dr Rea has corrected the reading of the month name in line 14 from Φαῶπ(ι) to φαμ̄ε = Φαμ̄ε(νώθ). The article before Θεώγος is unexpected, and we are inclined to suppose that Theon, not Sarapion, was the gymnasiarch and that Sarapion was Theon's agent. Cf. J. A. Straus, *ANRW* ii. 10.1 851.

21-2 νε[μεσθαι] Kopidakis op. cit.

22 At end, τοῦ? Or τοῦ-23των?

R. D. SULLIVAN  
 R. A. COLES

## 4583. OATH OF BEEKEEPERS

I B.115/G (g)

(i) 12.5 × 9.5 cm  
(ii) 11.5 × 10 cm15 September 45  
Plate IV

Two fragments from the top and foot of an oath of beekeepers. The size of the gap between the two fragments is unknown. The text opens with the names of several of the numerous beekeepers, without any official address and with a substantial (4 cm) margin above. For beekeepers as a profession see further 4 n.

The papyrus is of interest for its information about the Oxyrhynchite strategus and royal scribe, see 5 and n.

Many of the uncertainties of reading are due to the awkward script rather than to physical damage. The date follows the main text in 10–11, in the same hand. The five lines of subscriptions that follow in 12–16 are in a succession of crude capitals, that in 15 rather more fluent than the others. The docket in 17 and the repeated date formula (to the same day) in 18–19 are in a very small cursive hand. The day of the month in 19 is written on a line all to itself under the end of 18.

There is a manufacturer's (three layer) kollesis a centimetre or so from the right-hand edge. The back is blank except for some possible offsets on the lower piece.

Fr. 1

Ἡράκλειος Πετεύριος καὶ οἱ τούτου ἀδελφοὶ Τοτοῆς  
καὶ Πετεύρις καὶ Ὀρσῆς Ὠρου καὶ Ἀσύχης Πετεύριος(ς)  
καὶ Σαραπίων Σαραπίωνος καὶ Πτολεμαῖος Α...ε...Ἰ  
καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μελιε[σ]υργοὶ τῶν ἀπ' Ὀξυρύγχων πόλ(εως)  
[ c. 3 ] . . . α Γαῖου Ἰο[υ]λι[ο]υ Ε[. . .]. στρατηγῶ καὶ Γαλατ[ί]ωνος  
[ βασιλικῶ γραμματέως Ὀ]ξυρυγγεῖτου δ[μν]ύομεν Τιβερίων

Fr. 2

[ c. 5 ] .ε.[ c. 7 ] . [ c. 15 ]  
[ ἀπὸ τῶν χρόνων Μαξίμου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν.  
[ εὐορκ]οῦσι μὲν ἡμεῖν εἰ ἦ, ἐπιορκοῦσι δὲ  
[ τὰ ἐ]γαντία. (ἔτους) 5 Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου Καίσαρος  
[ Σεβαστο]ῦ Γερμανικοῦ [ Α]ὐτοκράτορος, μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ ιη.

(m. 2) [ Τοτο]ῆς Πετεύρις ὁμώμεκα τὸν ὄρκον.

(m. 3) [ Πετε]ύρις Πετεύριος συνομώμεκ[α] τὸν ὄρκ(ον).

(m. 4) [ Ἡράκλει]ος Πετε[ύ]ριος συνομώμεκα τὸν ὄρκ(ον).

15 (m. 5) [ Ὀρσῆς Ὠ]ρου συνομώμεκα τὸν ὄρκον.

(m. 6) [ Ἀσύχης] Πετεύρις συνο[μώ]μεκα.

(m. 7) [ up to c. 10 letters ] . κρ . . . ας . . . [ space for up to 23 letters ] (vac.)

[(ἔτους) 5 Τιβερί]ου Κλαυδίου Καί[σαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ]

Αὐτοκράτορος, μη(νὸς) Σεβαστοῦ

(vac.) ιη.

2 πετευρι<sup>o</sup> (possibly πετευρι<sup>oc</sup>) 4 πο<sup>λ</sup> 9 l. ἡμῶν, εἴη 10 L 11 μ<sup>η</sup> 12 l. Πετεύριος  
ὁμώμοκα First o of ὄρκον corr. 13, 14, 15, 16 l. συνομώμοκα 13–14 The ends of these lines are  
obscured by offsets 13 ορ<sup>κ</sup> 14 ορ<sup>κ</sup>? 16 l. Πετεύριος 18 μ<sup>η</sup>

(Fr. 1) 'We, Heraclius son of Peteÿris and his brothers Totoës and Peteÿris, and Horses son of Horus and Hasychis son of Peteÿris and Sarapion son of Sarapion and Ptolemaeus son of . . . and the rest, beekeepers from the people of the city of the Oxyrhynchî, . . . of Gaius Julius . . . strategus and Galation royal scribe of the Oxyrhynchite, swear by Tiberius . . .'

(Fr. 2.8 ff.) ' . . . from the time of Maximus until now. If we observe the oath may it be well with us, but if we swear falsely, the reverse. The 6th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the 18th of the month Augustus.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Totoës son of Peteÿris, swore the oath.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Peteÿris son of Peteÿris, jointly swore the oath.'

(4th hand) 'I, Heraclius son of Peteÿris, jointly swore the oath.'

(5th hand) 'I, Horses son of Horus, jointly swore the oath.'

(6th hand) 'I, Hasychis son of Peteÿris, jointly swore.'

(7th hand) ' . . . .

'The 6th year of Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus Imperator, the 18th of the month Augustus.'

4 οἱ λοιποὶ μελιε[σ]υργοί. Beekeepers are attested as operating as a guild in I 85 (re-ed. R. A. Coles, *ZPE* 39 (1980) 115–23) and possibly also in LIV 3747, both from the fourth century. See also R. D. Sullivan, *BASP* 10 (1973) 5–13 (referring to the present text on p. 8), republished above as 4582, and P. Dubl. 11, with references; H. Chouliara-Raïos, *L'abeille et le miel en Égypte* (Ioannina, 1989). Despite the beekeepers' city origin, probably we need not assume that their hives were in the city.

5 The ink between the initial lacuna and the next one is all present; it is its interpretation which is difficult. *στρατηγῶ* suggests that we need sense along the lines of 'in accordance with the orders of' *vel sim.*, but I have failed to read the Greek appropriately.

The identity of the strategus here is both uncertain and difficult; virtually every letter of the name could be differently read. ε in the cognomen is certain, but Ε[. . .]. (genitive) is very awkward. I suppose -λίου] Θέ[ωνο]ς cannot be excluded, although enlarged ε with only slight ink before it does suggest an initial letter; but I hesitate to introduce what will seem a firm name on such thin evidence.

The sequence of Oxyrhynchite strategi in this period is confusing, although much less so since G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne set out the evidence in *Strategi and Royal Scribes* (Pap. Flor. XV) 87–8. As laid out there, our man will come between Ti. Claudius x (II 283: Apollonius (*ZPE* 47 (1982) 259) easier than ed. pr.'s Pasion) and

-]μοc (X 1258) and prevent their identification as proposed in the note on p. 87, as long as 1258 remains dated to 5 November 45. However, it may be admissible to re-date 1258 to the year before, reading [ἔτους πέμ]πτου in 12 (too long according to the editors, but ecthesis is possible at this point). The title in 283 is restored but must be likely, so that identifying our man with other C. Julii in this period is probably not possible (C. Julius Iollas, P. Oxy. Hels. 11; also in P. Oxy. Hels. 11.8-9, B. E. Klakowicz's proposal, *Stud. Pap.* 20 (1981) 60 (= BL VIII 273), to read C. Julius Phoebus is not justified by the original; seemingly also excluded is C. Julius x, P. Fouad I 27 with ZPE 11 (1973) 237 — note he has a short third name as does our man in 4583).

At the end of the line, the evidence for the royal scribe is more clear-cut (Bastianini and Whitehorne op. cit. 140) even though no title survives in the present text. Γαλατ[ί]ωνι in Π 279 must be corrected to Γαλατ[ί]ωνι: the name is recorded in the *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* ii (Attica). Galatius is now a ghost-name.

6 The initial lacuna has space for c. 13 letters; the title of the royal scribe will have been abbreviated in some way.

8 [ἀπὸ τ]ῶν χρόνων Μαξίμου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν. For this use of χρόνος cf. XXIV 2413 4, 11 etc. By analogy with 2413, Μαξίμου may be supposed to refer to the prefect Magius Maximus in office c. 14/15, see G. Bastianini, ZPE 17 (1975) 269; *ibid.* 38 (1980) 76, and ANRW ii. 10.1, p. 504. The complex chronology of the prefects in the reign of Tiberius is considered by J. R. Rea, LV 3807 39 n.; L. Cazzaniga, *An. Pap.* 4 (1992) 5-19. We may speculate on what it may have been that the beekeepers had (or had not) done for a period of thirty years.

16 The line appears to finish with -μεκα; uncertain traces beyond this are probably offsets.

R. A. COLES

#### 4584. DECLARATION OF A SLAVE FOR EPICRISIS

58/A(24)

8.5 × 18.1 cm

100/101

The text contains a declaration to the strategus from a woman relating to the examination (epicrisis) of a slave of which she owns two-thirds jointly with her brother/husband. She confirms that the slave has attained the age of thirteen and that her husband belongs to the class of metropolitans liable to the 12-drachma tax-rate. The declaration refers to a past 3rd year, which can be assigned to the reign of Trajan since the strategus is known. On the epicrisis in general see O. Montevecchi, *Proc. XIV Congress*, 227-32, and C. A. Nelson, *Status Declarations in Roman Egypt* (ASP XIX; 1979), with further bibliography. On the epicrisis of metropolitans see Nelson, Chap. 2; he lists examples from Oxyrhynchus on p. 11 and discusses them on pp. 16-19 (note that his P. Erl. 31 and P. Brux. inv. E 7910 are now SB VI 9161-2). For the epicrisis of slaves in particular see I. Biezuńska-Małowist, *L'esclavage dans l'Égypte gréco-romaine* 77. Other declarations concerning the epicrisis of slaves from Oxyrhynchus are IV 714, PSI VII 732, XII 1230, and W. Chr. 217.

The papyrus was folded in three; it is warped and damaged down the fold-lines. It breaks off at the start of the oath by the Emperor, most of which is lost together with the date and the subscription. There is a manufacturer's three-layer kollesis at the right edge. The back is blank.

(m. 2) Δρόμ(ου) Θ[ο]ήριδος  
(m. 1) Δίωι cτp(ατηγῶ) Ὁξ(υρρυγίτου)  
παρὰ . . [ . . ] . cτ . . τηc[ c. 8 ]

Διονυσί[ο]υ μητρὸς Ζωί[δος ἀπ' Ὁξυ-]  
5 ρύγχ[ων π]όλεως μετὰ [κυρίου . . . ]  
τοc . [ . . . ] ατους τοῦ . . [ . . . . ἀπὸ τῆc]  
αὐτῆc π[ό]λεως. κατὰ τὰ [κελευθέντα]  
περὶ ἐ[πι]κρίσεως τῶν [προσβαινόντων]  
εἰς (τρεισκαυδεκαετείc) [εἴ] εἰσι μητροπ[ολίται (δωδεκάδραχμοι) δηλω]  
10 Πετεύριν δοῦλόν μου κ[α]ἰ [ c. 3 ] . [ . . ] . [ . . ]  
μου ἀδελφοῦ Θώνιος κα[τὰ τὸ] μέρουc  
δίμοιρον καὶ τῶν ἀδελφ[ιδῶν μου] Δη[μη]-  
τρίου καὶ Πετεύριος καὶ Ζωίδος κατ[ὰ] τὸ λ[ο]ιπ[ό]ν  
τρίτον [ο]ἰκογενῆν ἐκ δοῦλης Θαήc[ιος]  
15 ἀπογραφόμενον ἐπ' ἀμφόδου Δρόμου  
Θοήριδος προσβεβηκέναι εἰς τοὺc (τρεισκαυδεκαετείc)  
τῶ διελθόντ(ι) γ (ἔτει), καὶ τὸν ὀμοπάτριον[ν]  
μου ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἄνδρα Θώνιν ἱεροc-  
κόπον Θοήριδος καὶ Ἴσιδος καὶ Cαρά[πιδος]  
20 καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν (εἶναι) (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀπογρα-  
φόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀ[μ]φ[ό]δου, καὶ]  
ὀμνύω Αὐτο[κρά]τορα Καίcαρ[α

1 δρο<sup>μ</sup>θ[ο]ηριδc 2 cτp[ο]ξ̄ 9, 16 εγL 17 διελθοντγ L 20 εβc

(2nd hand) 'Quarter of the Avenue of Thoeris.'

(1st hand) 'To Dios, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from . . . daughter(?) of Dionysius, mother Zois, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, with as guardian . . . son of . . . -ates, grandson of . . . , from the same city.'

'According to what was ordered concerning the examination of boys who are entering the class of 13-year-olds, as to whether they are of the metropolitan 12-drachma class, I declare that Peteyris, the slave owned by me and by my brother of the same father(?), Thonis, in respect of the two-thirds part, and by my nephews and niece, Demetrius, Peteyris and Zois, in respect of the remaining third, born in the household to the slave Thaesis, registered in the Avenue of Thoeris quarter, has entered the class of 13-year-olds in the past 3rd year, and (I declare that) my brother of the same father and husband, Thonis, diviner of Thoeris and Isis and Sarapis and the gods who share their temple, [is] of the 12-drachma class, registered in the same quarter, and I swear by Emperor Caesar . . .'

1 For a similar docket at the head of a declaration concerning epicrisis see e.g. XLVI 3276-7.

2 For the strategus Dius see G. Bastianini, J. Whitehorn, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 90; the texts which are referred to there by inventory numbers are now LVII 3905 and 3910. Other declarations of this type from Oxyrhynchus addressed to the strategus are listed by Nelson, op. cit. 16.

3-4 X τῆς καὶ Y, daughter of Dionysius? or is Dionysius her grandfather?

4 Ζωί[δος. Cf. line 13.

7ff. PSI 732 is the only declaration to follow almost exactly the pattern used here; the other declarations concerning slaves listed in the introduction replace δηλώ with ἐτάγη and so have the slave's name in the nominative; cf. Nelson, op. cit. 17-18.

10 Περέρην. See Demot. NB. I. 5.322-3, p3-ij-hr.

One expects καὶ τοῦ ὀμοπατρίου, cf. 17, but the traces and the spacing seem incompatible with this wording.

11-12 κο[ινὸν ἐκ] μέρους διμοίρου could possibly be read.

12 τῶν ἀδελφ[ιδῶν μου]. ἀδελφ[ῶν] is improbable. As one brother has already been mentioned, one would expect ἀδελφῶν to have been qualified by an adjective such as ἐτέρων, for which there is no room; and τῶν ἀδελφ[ιδῶν μου] makes the situation much easier to explain. The declarant's father owned the slave in question, who was inherited jointly on the father's death by the declarant, her brother Thonis and a third brother or sister; this brother or sister had subsequently died and the share had passed to his/her three children. The communal ownership of slaves is not uncommon; an example which is almost as complicated as that in 4584 is found in IV 716.

17ff. None of the parallels referred to in the introduction follows the same pattern as 4584, but this is because in all of them the declaration is made by a single, male owner of the slave. Thus in W. Chr. 217.18-19, for example, the declarant says δηλώ αὐτόν [the slave] εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) καὶ με ὁμοίως εἶναι (δωδεκάδραχμον) ἀναγραφόμενον κτλ. Why in 4584 the declaration was made not by Thonis but by his sister-wife, we do not know.

18-19 ἱεροσκοπον. This priestly office occurs in a number of inscriptions, being particularly common at Ephesus: see Inscr. Ephesos VIII.1, p. 38. It should mean a diviner who inspected animal entrails, a method of divination common in Greece, Rome and throughout parts of the Near East, but not certainly attested hitherto in the papyri (in O. Stras. 652.11 ἱεροσκοπ[ occurs, but as this is in the middle of a list of objects, it is very unlikely to refer to an office). Diodorus describes the Pharaoh's priests performing sacrifices and examining the entrails of beasts at i. 70.9: μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ βασιλέως ἱεροσκοπῆσαμένον μόσχῳ καὶ καλλιερῆσαντος κτλ., and at i. 73.4 he mentions the prowess of the Egyptian priests at divining, and gives the correct information that the priestly caste was hereditary in Egypt and subject to lower rates of tax. The practice may be referred to in P. Ant. II 65 ii, a magical text assigned to the fifth century. It may be relevant that P. Rein. II 93 and 94 record a ἱεροτέκτων of this same temple.

19-20 On this temple see G. Ronchi, *Lexicon Theonymon*, III 493-7, s.v. Θεῶν, and L. Koenen, *ZPE* 1 (1967) 123-4. To Ronchi's references add P. L. Bat. XXV 43.10 and P. Mich. XVIII 788.2-3 (with note).

D. MONTSERRAT

#### 4585. DECLARATION FOR EPICRISIS

9 I.B.173/C(b)

7.2 × 32 cm

January-February 189

The papyrus is virtually complete and the areas of damage do not seriously affect the reading. The autograph subscription of the presenter shows that this is an original document not a copy. There is a blank space of 13 cm at the foot and the back is also blank. The papyrus is of a coarse quality with a heavy kollesis down the centre.

The text preserves a declaration for epicrisis for entry into the metropolitan class on

behalf of Harpocraton also called Ischyriion. On such declarations see Nelson, cited in the introduction to 4584.

Declarations are usually made by the fathers or by the owners in the case of slaves. Exceptions from Oxyrhynchus are III 478 = W. Chr. 218 and VII 1028 (by mothers), and XII 1452 i (by the uncle); in all three texts the fathers are dead, as is the case in the present text. In 4585 the person making the declaration is a freedman (cf. 478, in which the declaration comes from a freedwoman applying to register her son); he makes the declaration in virtue of being a φίλος of the boy's father. We may compare VIII 1109, where the declaration is made by the boy's father διὰ Διονυσίου Διδύμου φίλου, and XXXVIII 2855, an application to register a boy in the gymnasial class made by a φίλος of the boy's deceased father. Possibly in 4585 the boy's mother was also dead and he had no close male relatives. Apart from this the declaration follows the normal pattern for the Oxyrhynchite nome at this period; particularly close parallels are 1109 and 1452 i.

παρὰ Θώνιος τοῦ καὶ Μώρου ἀπε{λ}-  
 λευθέρου Ἀρθώνιος ἀπ' Ὁξυρύχων  
 πόλεως. κατὰ τὰ κελευθέντα πε-  
 ρὶ ἐπικρίσεως τῶν προσβ(αιόντων) εἰς (τρεισκαϊδεκαετείς) εἰ  
 5 ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων γονέων μη-  
 τροπολιτῶν (δωδεκαδράχμων) εἰσίν, ἐτάγη ἐπ' ἀμ-  
 φ[ό]δου Τεμγενοῦθεως ὁ τοῦ με-  
 τηλλαχότος φίλου μου Ἰσχυρί-  
 10 ωνος Cίβου τοῦ κ(αὶ) Δ[. . .] . . . ρου (τοῦ?) Ἰσχυ-  
 ρίωνος τοῦ (καὶ?) Cίβου μητρ[ός] . . . . . ραροῦ-  
 [τ]ος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως υἱὸς Ἀρπο-  
 κρατίων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἰσχυρίων μητρὸς [Cαρ]α-  
 πιάδος Cαραπίωνος προσβάς εἰς (τρεισκαϊδεκαετείς)  
 τῶ διελθόντι κη (ἔτει) ὅθεν παραγε-  
 15 νόμ[ε]νος πρὸς τὴν τούτου ἐπικρι-  
 σιν δηλώ αὐτὸν εἶναι [(δωδεκάδραχμον) καὶ] τὸν  
 πα[τ]τέρα α[ὐ]τοῦ Ἰσχυρίωνα τετε-  
 λευτηκένα . . . . .  
 ὄντα (δωδεκάδραχμον) διὰ λαογραφίας τοῦ  
 20 ι (ἔτους) θεοῦ Αἰλίου Ἀντωνίνου ἀμφό-  
 [δ]ου τ[οῦ] αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν τῆς μητρὸς  
 [τ]οῦ cη[μαι]νομένου πατέρα Cαρα-  
 πίωνα [Cα]ραπίων(ος) τετελε[υτη]-

κέν(αι) τὸ πρὶν ὄντα (δωδεκάδραχμον) διὰ λα[ο]-  
 25 γρ(αφίας) ἀμφόδ(ου) ἀναμφοδάρχων κ[αί]  
 ὀμνύω τὴν Ἀὐτοκράτορος Κομμό[δου]  
 Ἄντωνίνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρ[ίου]  
 τύχην μὴ ἐ[ψευθε]α. (ἔτους) κθ Ἀὐτοκ(ράτορος)  
 Καίσαρος Μάρκου Ἀὐρηλίου Κομμόδου  
 30 Ἄντωνίνου Εὐς[εβοῦ]ς Ε[ὐτυχοῦ]ς  
 Σεβαστοῦ Ἀρμενιακοῦ Μηδ[ικοῦ]  
 Παρθικοῦ Καρματικῶν Γερμ[ανικοῦ]  
 Μεγίστου Βρεταν(ν)ικοῦ, Μεχεῖρ [.].  
 (m. 2) [Θ]ῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Μῶρος ἀπελ(εύθερος) Ἀρθώ(νιος)  
 35 [ἐπ]ιδέδωκα καὶ ὀμώ(μοκα)  
 τὸν ὄρκον.

4 προσ<sup>β</sup>ει<sup>γ</sup> 6 ιβς 9, 12 κς 13 πς 14 κς 16 τ[βς]? 19 ιβς διαλαογρα φιας  
 20 ις 23 -πιω<sup>ρ</sup> 24 κε<sup>ρ</sup> ιβς 25 γρ<sup>β</sup>αμφο<sup>δ</sup> 28 Lκθαιτο<sup>ρ</sup>? 29 κο<sup>ρ</sup>?  
 34 ρ<sup>κ</sup> απε<sup>λ</sup>αρθ<sup>ω</sup> 35 ομ<sup>ω</sup>

‘From Thonis alias Morus, freedman of Harthonis, from the city of the Oxyrhynchii. In accordance with the orders concerning the examination of those attaining 13 years, whether they are descended on both sides from metropolitans rated at 12 drachmas, there was registered in the Temgenuthis quarter the son of my deceased friend Ischyron the son of Sibus alias D- and -sarus and grandson of Ischyron alias Sibus(?) from the same city, Harpocraton alias Ischyron, his mother being Sarapias daughter of Sarapion, as having attained the age of 13 years in the past 28th year. Wherefore, coming forward for his examination, I declare that he is rated at 12 drachmas and that his father Ischyron died . . . being rated at 12 drachmas in the poll-tax list of the 10th year of the divine Aelius Antoninus in the same quarter, and that the father of the mother of the above mentioned, Sarapion son of Sarapion, died some time ago, being rated at 12 drachmas in the poll-tax list for the quarter of the anamphodarchi, and I swear by the fortune of Emperor Commodus Antoninus Caesar the lord that I have not lied. Year 29 of Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Armeniacus Medicus Parthicus Sarmaticus Germanicus Maximus Britannicus, Mecheir [.]’

(2nd hand) ‘I, Thonis alias Morus, freedman of Harthonis, have presented this and sworn the oath.’

<sup>1</sup> According to Nelson, *op. cit.* 16–17, the absence of any addressee is normal in Oxyrhynchite declarations between 132 and the third century.

Thonis alias Morus has previously occurred in IV 725 63 of 183, where he writes for an illiterate; correct the reading there to Θῶνις ὁ κ(αὶ) Μῶρος ἀπελ(εύθερος) [ΑΤΕΛ pap.] Ἀρθώ(νιος). The hand is the same as the second hand here in lines 34–6.

9 *Cibon*. Also in 10. The name is unattested, but XII 1446, published in full by M. Hombert in *Mél. Bidez* (1934) 495–503, has in line 43 [ζωνος μη(τρὸς) Ciboutos; cf. also Cibit[ο]ν in O. Douch II 153 B.5.

9–10 It is difficult to make genealogical sense of the names here without introducing two corrections, however reluctant we may be in principle to do this. Another solution, perhaps even more extreme, would be to delete *Υχυρίωνος* in 9–10.

18 After *τετελευτηκέναι* there are faint traces of c. 14 letters, which presumably contained the date of the father's death.

23–4 *τετελε[υτη]κέν(αι) τὸ πρὶν ὄντα* (δωδεκάδραχμον): cf., e.g., XII 1452 21, 26, 55.

D. MONTSERRAT

#### 4586. CESSION OF VACANT LOT

27 3B.42/E(1–2)a

12.2 × 31.8 cm

Third century

Philoxena daughter of Heron cedes to Taonnophris daughter of Petemennophris a third portion of a *ψιλός τόπος*. Neither party to the contract has appeared elsewhere. The property is located in Nesmimis (9), a village in the Upper Toparchy (P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 118). For *ψιλοί τόποι*, with lists of documents, see R. Rossi, *Aeg. 30* (1950) 42 ff.; G. Husson, *OIKIA* 293–9; H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten / Pachten, Kosten u. Löhne* 138–40. Note also J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 219.

The text was left incomplete; it lacks the address to the archidicastes, one of the boundary descriptions (12), the *κυρία*-clause and the date. Despite its imperfect condition, it was equipped with the subscriptions of both parties. Similar unfinished contracts are XXXIV 2723 (incomplete below) and P. Mich. V 263, 274, 305 (for the Michigan texts see the editors' remarks in the introd., pp. 7–8).

The back is blank.

→ παρὰ Τ[αοννώ]φριος Πετεμενώφρι[ο]ς μητρὸς Ἐξερ-  
 κόιτος μετὰ κυρίου Πα]μούνιος Παμούνι[ο]ς μητρὸς . .  
 μ . . . . . [ἀπὸ κώμης] Νεεμείμωος ἰερέως Ἀμμωνος  
 καὶ τῶν συννάων θεῶν μεγίστων καὶ παρὰ Φιλοξέ-  
 5 νης Ἡρω[νος] μητρὸς Θε . . . . . μετὰ κυρ[ί]ου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ἀ[μ-]  
 μωνίου [Ἀμμ]ωνίου μητρὸς Α . . . . . ος ἀπὸ τῆ[ς]  
 αὐτῆς κ[ώμης.] συνχωρεῖ ἢ Φιλοξένα παρακεχωρ[η-]  
 κέναι τῇ Ταοννώφρι τὸ ὑπάρχον αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ α[ὐτῇ]  
 Νεεμείμι ἐν τοῖς ἀπὸ νότου ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην μέρεσι τῆ[ς]  
 10 αὐτῆς κώμης τρίτον μέρος ἀπὸ ψιλοῦ τόπου βείκου ἐ[νὸς]  
 ἡμίους ὃ ἔστιν βείκου ἡμίους ἐκ τοῦ ἀπὸ βορρᾶ μέ-  
 ρους, οὗ γείτονες νότου (vac.) , βορρᾶ δημο-  
 κία ῥύμη, ἀπηλι[ώ]τ[ο]υ Θώνιος Παυσεῖριος, λιβὸς Ταπι-



15 *κόιτος. τὰς δὲ συνπεφωνημένας ὑπ[έ]ρ τιμῆς καὶ  
 παραχωρητικοῦ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βείκ[ου ἢ] μ[έ]τρους ἀργυρίου  
 Σεβαστοῦ νομίσματος δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν [αὐτ]όθι ἀπέσχευ  
 ἢ Φιλόξενα παρὰ τῆς Ταωννώφρ[ιο]ς διὰ χειρὸς ἐκ  
 πλήρους. καὶ [ἀπ]ὸ τοῦ νῦν τὴν Ταωννώφριν κρατεῖν  
 καὶ κυριεύειν [εὐ]ν ἐκγόνοις καὶ τοῖς πα[ρ]’ αὐ[τῆ]ς μεταλημ-  
 20 ψομένοις εἰ[ς τὸ]ν ἅπαντα χρόνον καὶ χρ[ά]σθ[αι] καὶ διοι-  
 κεῖν καὶ ἐπιτελεῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ καθ’ ὅ[ν] ἐὰν αἰρήται τρό-  
 πον, τὴν δ[ὲ] Φιλ[ό]ξεναν μὴ ἐπιπορεύεσθαι ἐπὶ τοῦτο μη-  
 δ’ ἄλλον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μηδένα κατὰ μηδένα [τρό]πον, ἐπάναγ-  
 κον δὲ αὐτὴν βεβαιοῖν τῇ Ταωννώφρι καὶ τοῖς παρ’ αὐ-  
 25 τῆς μεταλημψομένοις καὶ παρέχεσθαι καθαρὸν ἀπὸ  
 ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γεωργίας βασιλικῆς καὶ οὐσι[α]-  
 κῆς γῆς καὶ παντὸς εἴδους καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς οὐτινοσοῦν  
 ἄλλου, τὸν δὲ ἐπελευσόμενον ἢ ἐνποιησόμενον ἀφι-  
 στάνιν τὴν Φιλόξεναν τοῖς ἰδίοις δαπανήμασι καθά-  
 30 περ ἐκ δίκης.*

•  
 (m. 2) Ταωννώφρις Πεπεμενωφριως παρακε-  
 χώρημαι παρὰ τῆς Φιλοξένης τὸ(ν) προ-  
 κείμενον ψιλὸν τόπον καὶ ἀπ[έ]δοκα αὐτῇ  
 τὰς τοῦ παραχωρητικοῦ δ[ρ]αχμὰς ἑκα-  
 35 τὸν ὡς πρόκειται. Παμοῦνις [Π]αμοῦνιος  
 ἐπιγέγραμμαι αὐτῆς κύριος καὶ ἔγρα-  
 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδυίης γράμμα-  
 τα.

•  
 (m. 3) Φιλόξενα Ἡρωνος παρεχώρησα τῇ Τα-  
 40 οννώφρι τὸ προκείμενον τρίτον μέ-  
 ρος τοῦ ψιλοῦ τόπου, βίκου ἡμίους,  
 καὶ ἀπέσχον παρ’ αὐτῆς τὰς τοῦ πα-  
 ραχωρητικοῦ δραχμὰς ἑκατὸν  
 καὶ βεβαιώσω ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀμ-  
 45 μῶνις Ἀμμω[νί]ο[υ] ἐπιγέγραμ-

μαι τῆς γυναικὸς κύριος καὶ ἔγρα-  
 ψα ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδυίης γράμμα-  
 τα.

7 l. συγχωρεῖ	8, 24, 39-40 l. Ταωννώφρι	9 l. Νεσμείμει	10-11 l. βίκου	14 l. συμπε-
φωνημέναι	15 l. βίκου	24 l. βεβαιοῦν	28 l. ἐμποιησόμενον	28-9 l. ἀφιστάνειν
31 l. Πεπεμενωφριος	32-3 l. τὸν προκείμενον	33 l. ἀπέδοκα	35 l. πρόκειται	37 u of
ιδυίης corr. from ο; l. εἰδυίης	40 l. προκείμενον	44 l. πρόκειται	44-5 l. Ἀμμῶνιος	
47 ἰδυειης; l. εἰδυίης				

From Taonnophris daughter of Petemennophris, her mother being Esersois, with her guardian Pamunis son of Pamunis, his mother being . . . , from the village of Nesmimis, priest of Ammon and the associated most great gods, and from Philoxena daughter of Heron, her mother being The- , with as guardian her husband Ammonius son of Ammonius, his mother being A- , from the same village. Philoxena acknowledges that she has ceded to Taonnophris the third share belonging to her in the said Nesmimis, in the south-eastern sections of the same village, of a vacant lot one and a half *bikoi* in extent, which is a half *bikos* in extent in the northern section, of which the boundaries are: on the south (vac.) , on the north a public street, on the east property of Thonis son of Paysceiris, and on the west property of Tapisois. And Philoxena has forthwith received from Taonnophris from hand to hand in full the one hundred drachmas in silver of the Imperial coinage agreed on for the price and cession money of the same half *bikos*. And from now on Taonnophris with her descendants and successors is to control and own it for all time, and she may use, manage and make arrangements regarding it in whatever way she chooses; and Philoxena is not to proceed against it, nor anyone else on her behalf, in any way, but she is bound to guarantee it to Taonnophris and her successors and to deliver it unaffected by census returns, cultivation of royal and usiac land, any impost or anything else whatever; and if anyone takes proceedings or lays a claim, Philoxena is to repel him at her own expense, as if as a result of a lawsuit.

(2nd hand) 'I, Taonnophris daughter of Petemennophris, have had ceded to me from Philoxena the aforesaid vacant lot, and I gave to her the one hundred drachmas for the cession money as aforesaid. I, Pamunis son of Pamunis, am registered as her guardian, and I wrote on her behalf as she is illiterate.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Philoxena daughter of Heron, ceded to Taonnophris the aforesaid third share of the vacant lot, one half *bikos* in extent, and I received from her the one hundred drachmas for the cession money, and I will guarantee as aforesaid. I, Ammonius son of Ammonius, am registered as guardian of my wife, and I wrote on her behalf as she is illiterate.'

4-5 The temple of Ammon and associated gods at Nesmimis is attested in XLVI 3292; see 9 n. there.

10 On the *bikos*, a square measure of unknown dimensions, see F. Luckhard, *Das Privathaus im ptol. u. röm. Ägypten* 22-3; R. Rossi, *Aeg.* 30 (1950) 55 n. 7; G. Husson, *OIKIA* 295 n. 5. That the term is not used exclusively with reference to *ψιλοὶ τόποι* is shown by XLIX 3461.



13-14 *Ταπίσιος*. Apparently unattested, though regularly formed, and other articulations are possible, e.g. τὰ Πισίσιος, 'the property of Pisos'.

20 χρ[ᾶθ]αι: for this regular koine form see Mayser I<sup>2</sup> ii. 114.27.

24 For the frequent form βεβαιῶν see Mayser I<sup>2</sup> ii. 116 n. 1; B. G. Mandilaras, *The Verb* 311-2 §746.

26 ἀπογραφῆς ἀνδρῶν. For the significance of this see LII 3691 12 n.

29-30 καθάπερ ἐκ δίκης. Cf. XLVII 3351 13 n.

31 Here and in 39 there is a heavy dot just above the first letter of the line; it marks where the party to the contract is to begin her subscription (cf. P. Mich. V p. 4; P. Petaus 32 introd.).

44-5 Ἀμμῶνις. For such common reduction of -ιος to -ις see D. G. Georgacas, *CP* 43 (1948) 243 ff.; Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 25.

G. M. BROWNE

#### 4587-90. TRANSFERS OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

The following group of texts documents the different types of transaction relating to private grain stocks held in the state granaries. The giro system was widely used, especially by metropolitan landholders with extensive but scattered landholdings, to pay tax obligations or private debts in one village out of stocks they kept in the state granaries in another village. There are four main types of text: (a) those that begin μεμέτρηται, 'credited', meaning physical deposits or 'paying in' of grain (4587); (b) those that (after the address) begin διάστειλον or διαστείλατε, 'transfer', in the sense of giving instructions for a giro transfer out of the holder's account to the credit of another account, government or personal (4588); (c) those that begin διεστάλη, 'transferred', attesting that such a transfer had been made (4589); and (d) those that begin μεμέτρηται καὶ διεστάλη, 'credited and transferred', implying that a quantity of grain had been physically deposited into the holder's account but immediately transferred on the giro system to the credit of another account (4590).

Most of the documents emanate from the granary sitologi, except the early 4588 which is addressed to the toparch (for his involvement in the granary administration cf. BGU XVI 2560 ff.) but shows that the system of private stocks held in the state granaries and giro transfers was fully operative early in the first century AD.

The range and complexity of the transactions is well illustrated by the Oxyrhynchite granary register PSI inv. 1778 recto, published by R. A. Coles in *Dai papiri della Società Italiana: Omaggio al XXI Congr. Int. di Papirologia* (1995) no. 12, pp. 62-76; note especially where a large physical deposit was then disbursed to meet various obligations, but leaving a surplus which was credited to the payer's account (see p. 63, with XII 1444 23). Cf. also P. Mich. XVIII 786, and see further P. Pruneti, *Analecta Papyrologica* 6 (1994) 53-91. A survey of these document types together with a full edition of the Oxyrhynchite *descripta* III 615-622 is in preparation by Dr Litinas, whose study is to include topics such as the usage of cases and verb forms, and the question of where the documents were issued and held and by whom (especially documents with multiple notices).

R. A. COLES

#### 4587. NOTICE OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

44 5B.61/B(1-4)a

12.6 × 13.3 cm

179

A receipt from the sitologi for the payment of 50 artabas of wheat into the state granary at the village of Talao, for credit to the payer's account there, following the format standard in the Oxyrhynchite nome: for bibliography and discussion, besides the introduction to 4587-90 above, see XXXI 2588-91 introd. Another receipt since published is SB XII 11025 of 201. See also F. Preisigke, *Girwesen im griechischen Ägypten*, 110, 119. The sitologi of Talao are attested also by P. Köln III 137 (88) and probably by III 514 (190/191); perhaps also by II 385 descr. = P. Dubl. 5 (87/8). Other documents concerning payments in wheat from this village in the Roman period are P. Mich. inv. 69 in *ZPE* 28 (1978) 255-58 = SB XIV 12170 (31/32?); XII 1529, XVII 2140 and XXII 2346 (all third century).

The first hand is a rather flat cursive, part ligatured, with no unusual features and characteristic of the period. The hand of the second scribe is less fluid and more angular, without ligatures.

The document is complete, though somewhat damaged along the fold lines, one running across and two downwards. The back is blank.

μεμέτρηται εἰς τὸ δημόσιον πυροῦ  
γενήματος τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἐννεα-  
καιδεκάτου ἔτου(ς) Αὐρηλί[ο]υ Ἀντωνίνου  
καὶ Λουκίου Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδ[ο]υ Σεβαστῶν,  
5 διὰ (πιτολόγων) κάτω το(παρχίας) Ταλαῶ τό(πων), Γάιος Ἰού-  
λιος Διογένης, πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεν-  
τήκοντα, γεί(νονται) πυροῦ ἀρτάβας πεντή-  
κοντα. Φιλᾶδελφος (πιτολόγος) (ε)σημ(είωμαι) τὰς τοῦ  
πυροῦ ἀρτάβας(ς) πεντήκοντα, γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ν.  
(m. 2) Ὡρ[ος] (πιτολ)όγος (ε)σημ(είωμαι) [τ]ὰς τοῦ πυροῦ  
11 ἀ[ρτάβας] πεντήκοντα, γί(νονται) (ἀρτάβαι) ν.

1 εἰς 5 ct; so probably in 8 τὸ twice 5-6 ἰουλιος 7 γει( ): extended horizontal  
of τ bisects cursive raised ε1 combination 1. γίνονται, ἀρτάβαι 8 (ε)σημ 9, 11 ff ̄

10 1. (ε)σημ(είωμαι)

'Paid into the state granary, in wheat from the produce of the current nineteenth year of Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augusti, through the sitologi of the lower toparchy, district of Talao, for credit to Gaius(?) Julius Diogenes, fifty artabas of wheat, total fifty artabas of wheat. I, Philadelphus, sitologus, have certified the fifty artabas of wheat, total 50 artabas.' (2nd hand) 'I, Horus, sitologus, have certified the fifty artabas of wheat, total 50 artabas.'

2 Since the deposit is from the produce of the current 19th year, the date can be restricted to the summer of 179.

3-4 This version of the imperial formula does not seem to be precisely paralleled. P. Hib. II 278 is parallel as far as it goes, but the text is fragmentary.

5-6 This C. Julius Diogenes has not appeared before in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. The use of the *tria nomina* does not necessarily indicate full Roman citizenship at this date: see I. Biezuńska-Malowist, *Problèmes de la terre en Grèce ancienne*, ed. M. I. Finley, 254-5; LVIII 3924 4-5 n.

D. MONTSERRAT

## 4588. ORDERS FOR TRANSFER OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

29 4B.63/B(4-8)a

11.2 × 16 cm

26 September 33

Two orders for transfers of credit in grain, addressed to the same toparch Apion. The hand is the same throughout, and the date the same in each, but both payer and payee are different in the second order from those in the first. The toparch is new, and none of the other persons named in the document is certainly attested in B. W. Jones and J. E. G. Whitehorne, *Register of Oxyrhynchites*. The formula in 2-3, 12-13 is unusual.

The papyrus is broken off below 19. The text of the second order finishes at that point, but other similar orders may have followed.

Written across the fibres on the original recto: there is a kollesis parallel to the writing between 6-7. The back is blank.

Ἡρακλῆς Ὡρου Ἀμεινέω(ς) Ἀπίωνι τοπάρ-  
χη χαίρειν. διάτειλον ἀφ' οὗ μεμέτρ-  
ηκα εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γενήματος ἐν(ε)α-  
καϊδεκάτου ἔτους Τιβερίου Καίσαρος

5 Σεβαστοῦ Ὡρω Ἡνιόχου πυροῦ ἀρτά-  
β[α]ης μίαν χοίνικας δύο, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) α χ(οίνικες) β.  
ἔτους κ Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ,  
μηνὸς Σεβ(αστοῦ) κθ̄.

10 Ἀμοῖς Ὡρου ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ μὴ  
εἰδότος γράμματα.

Ὡρος Πτόλλιδος Ἀπίωνι τοπάρχῃ  
χαίρειν. διάτειλον ἀφ' οὗ μεμέτρη-  
κα εἰς τὸ δημόσιον γενήματος ἐν-  
νεακαϊδεκάτου ἔτους [Τιβερίου Καίσαρος]  
15 Σεβαστοῦ Ὡρω Τοτοέουσι ἱερε(ῖ) πυ[ροῦ]  
[ἀρτ]άβαι δύο, (γίνονται) (πυροῦ ἀρτ.) β.

[ἔτο]υς κ Τιβερίου Κ[α]ίσαρος Σεβ(αστοῦ),  
μηνὸς Σεβ(αστοῦ) κθ̄. [Ἀμοῖς Ὡρου]  
[ἔγραψα ὑπὲρ] αὐτοῦ μ[ὴ εἰδότος γράμματα.]

1 ἀμεινέω<sup>ω</sup> 3 κ of ηκα corr. from α 5-6 ἀρτάβας corr. to ἀρτάβης; 1. ἀρτάβην 6 /ε χ<sup>β</sup>  
8 σεβ<sup>λ</sup> 15 ω of Ὡρω corr. from ο 16 1. ἀρτάβας /ε 18 σεβ<sup>λ</sup>

Ἡρακλῆς son of Horus, grandson of Amenneus, to Apion, toparch, greeting. Transfer, from what I deposited into the state granary from the produce of the nineteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, to Horus son of Heniochus, one artaba of wheat and two choenices, total art. wheat 1, choen. 2. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the month Sebastus 29. I, Amois son of Horus, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.

Ἡρακλῆς son of Ptollis to Apion, toparch, greeting. Transfer, from what I deposited into the state granary from the produce of the nineteenth year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, to Horus son of Totoes, priest, two artabas of wheat, total art. wheat 2. Year 20 of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, the month Sebastus 29. I, Amois son of Horus, wrote on his behalf as he is illiterate.

1 For the grandfather's name without the article cf. LV 3804 72.

G. AZZARELLO

## 4589. NOTICES OF TRANSFER OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

26 3B.51/J(4-5) a

20 × 22.5 cm

168/9-174/5  
Plate V

The papyrus contains two columns and preserves ten *διατέλλ(η)*-type notices all to the credit of the account of Philotera, daughter of Stephanus and Aphrodite, at the state granary at Pela in the western toparchy, and was in use over a period of seven years. The transfers originated in (at least?) five different villages, and exhibit seven different hands. These hands are numbered in chronological order in the transcript, although the lines are numbered continuously down the columns as normal.

The *apparatus criticus* for the most part only presents the first occurrence of any form of abbreviation, for economy of space. In any case, given the typographical difficulty of accurate representation, the reader is referred to the plate.

Two major folds are clearly visible, a sharp vertical one between the two columns and a horizontal one halfway down the sheet: damage caused by this latter fold, already by 171/2 when the papyrus had been in use for three years, was presumably responsible for the deep gap separating the lower six notices from the four top ones.

The first column contains six receipts, the second column four, written below one

another. Their chronological arrangement in the papyrus is as follows (although nos. 9–10 pose a problem; dates in brackets are those where grain of the ‘past *n*th year’ is concerned):

notice no. 1 (lines 1–7) (167/8) 168/9 (1st hand)	notice no. 3 (lines 24–8) 168/9 Pela (1st hand)
notice no. 2 (lines 8–12) (167/8) 168/9 Senao (2nd hand)	notice no. 4 (lines 29–34) 169/70 Pakerke (3rd hand)
notice no. 7 (lines 13–17) (172/3) 173/4 Pela (6th hand)	notice no. 5 (lines 35–9) (170/1) 171/2 Enteiis (4th hand)
notice no. 8 (lines 18–21) (173/4) 174/5 Nemera (7th hand)	notice no. 6 (lines 40–47) (171/2) 172/3 Enteiis (5th hand)
notice no. 9 (line 22) s.d. Pela (6th hand)	
notice no. 10 (line 23) 172/3 Pela (6th hand)	

There is a clear manufacturer’s three-layer kollesis between the two columns. On the back there are scanty specks of ink, perhaps accidental (offset?), but the former presence of a docket or label cannot be excluded.

## col. i

- διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) η (ἔτους)  
 Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνεῖνου  
 καὶ Οὐήρου τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν  
 ἀπὸ τῶν προσκειμ(ένων) ὑ(πέρ) το(παρχίας), Φιλωτ(έρα)  
 5 Σεφάνου, ἀπὸ προχ(ρείας), Πέλ(α), συναριθ(μουμένην?)  
 ἀρτάβ(ην) μίαν ἡμις [τέ]ταρτ(ον) χ(οίνικας)  
 τέσσαρ(ας), (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίνικες) δ.
- (m. 2) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) η (ἔτους)  
 Αὐρηλίων Ἀντωνεῖνου καὶ Οὐήρου  
 10 τῶν κυρίων Σεβαστῶν, ἀπὸ προχ(ρείας) . . .  
 προσκειμ(ένων?) ci(τολόγοις?) Σεναῶ, Φιλωτέρα Σεφ-  
 άνου, {χ} χ(οίν.) δ, (γίνονται) {(ἀρτάβαι)} χ(οίνικες) δ.

- (m. 6) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ιγ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 15 διὰ ci(τολόγων) λιβὸ(ς) το(παρχίας) Πέλ(α), ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) Διογ( ) καὶ . . . ( ),  
 Φιλωτέρα Σεφάνου, Πέλ(α), (ἀρτ.) γ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γ.  
 Ἀπίω(ν) cεση(μείωμαι).
- (m. 7) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ιδ (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνεῖνου δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) μέση(ς) το(παρχίας) Νε(μέρων), ἀπὸ  
 20 θ(έματος) Ἡραῖδ(ος) Ἰσχ(υρίωνος),  
 Φιλωτέρα Σεφάνου, Πέλα, ἀρτ(άβ.) τρεῖς, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) γ.  
 Ἐρμίας cεση(μείωμαι).
- (m. 6) καὶ ἀπὸ προχ(ρείας) προσκειμ(ένων?) ci(τολόγοις?) Πέλ(α), ἢ α(ὐτή),  
 Πέλ(α), (ἀρτ.) d χ(οίν.) θ.  
 ιγ (ἔτους) ὁμοί(ως) (ἀρτάβης) d χ(οίνικες) θ, (γίν.) (ἀρτάβης) ς d  
 χ(οίνικες) η. Ἀπίων cεση(μείωμαι).

## Col. ii

- (m. 1) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) θ (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου  
 25 Ἀντωνεῖνου Σεβαστοῦ δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) Πέλα τό(πων),  
 ἀπὸ θ(έματος) Πετοσί(ριος) Πετοσί(ριος), Φιλωτέρα  
 Σεφάνου καὶ Ἀφροδ(ίτη) μήτ(ηρ), Πέλα,  
 (ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίν.) β, (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίνικες) β. Ζωῖλ(ος) βοη(θός)  
 cεση(μείωμαι).
- (m. 3) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) δεκάτου ἔτους Αὐρηλίου  
 30 Ἀντωνεῖνου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου  
 δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων) ἀ(πηλιώτου) το(παρχίας) Πακερ[κῆ], ἀ(πὸ) θέμ(ατος)  
 Διογ( ) μητ(ρός)  
 Θαήσιος, Φιλωτ[έρ]α Σεφάνου καὶ  
 Ἀφροδ(ίτη) μήτ(ηρ), Πέλ(α), (ἀρτ.) μία ἡμις τέταρ[τον] χ(οίν.) β,]  
 (γίν.) (ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίνικες) β. Χαιρ(ήμων?) cεση(μείωμαι).
- 35 (m. 4) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενήμ(ατος) τ(οῦ) διελ(θόντος) ια (ἔτους) Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀντωνεῖνο[u Κα]ίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) ci(τολόγων)  
 ἄνω το(παρχίας) Ἐντεῖως τό(πων), ἀπὸ θ(έματος) Διδ(ύμου?), Φιλωτέρα

Στεφ(άνου) καὶ [A]φροδείτη μή(τηρ), Πέλ(α), <(ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίν.) β,  
<(γίν.) ἀπὸ θέματος> <(ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίνικες) β.

40 (m. 5) διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) γενή(ματος) τοῦ διελ(θόντος) ιβ (ἔτους)  
Aύρηλιου Ἀντωνίνου Καίσαρο[ς]  
τοῦ κυρίου δι(ὰ) κυ(τολόγων) ἄνω το(παρχίας) Ἐντείε-  
ως τό(πων), Φιλωτέρα Στεφάνου  
καὶ Ἀφροδείτη μή(τηρ), Πέλα, ἀρτάβ(η)  
45 μία ἡμισυ τέταρτον χοί(ν.) δύο,  
(γίν.) (ἀρτ.) α ς d χ(οίνικες) β, ἀπὸ θέμ(ατος) Ἀμμω[νίου?]  
Διογ(ένους?). Θέων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἐρμίας βοη(θός) ζε[ρη(μείωμα)].

(Col. i)	1	διεσταλ(η) γενή(μ)	διε(λ)	ς	4	προκειμ(εν) το(φ)ιλω(τ)	5	προκειμ(εν) κυ(ναρι)θ	6	αρταβ
	τεταρ(τ)χο(ς)	7	τεσσαρ(τ)σ(α)δ(χ)δ		8	γεν(η) (with hook to left at foot of ζ)	L		11	πρ(δ) ct
15	κυ(το)λόγ(ο)ι	θε(μ)α(τ)ο(ς)	17	απ(ε)τε(τ)ο(ς)?	18	γε(ν)	19	δ με(τ) νε(μ) θ(η)ρ(αι)δ(ι)χ(η)	20	αρ(τ)
21	κε(τ)	22	πρ(δ)	α(ν)	23	ομο(ς)	κε(τ)			
(Col. ii)	26	απο(θ)	πετο(κ) twice; unexplained diagonal above end of first one		27	αφρο(δ)μη(τ)				
28	ζω(ι)β(ο)τε(τ)ο(ς)	29	δ	31	α(ν)	34	Form of χ(αι)ρ(η) not clear	κε(τ)η(μ)	35	τ(η)
38	στε(φ)	μη(τ)	39	θ(η)	46	θε(μ)ς	47	ο(ς)		

(Col. i)

(Lines 1–7) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the past 8th year of Aurelii Antoninus and Verus the lords Augusti, from the deposits accumulated for the toparchy(?), for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus, because of a loan in advance, at Pela, added up together(?), one artaba and three-quarters and four choenices, total art. 1 1/2 1/4 ch. 4.’

(2nd hand; lines 8–12) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the past 8th year of Aurelii Antoninus and Verus the lords Augusti, because of a loan in advance from the accumulated deposits of the sitologi of Senao, for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus, 4 choenices, total {art.} ch. 4.’

(6th hand, lines 13–17) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the past 13th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the western toparchy, Pela, from the deposit of Diog( ) and (?). . . , for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus, at Pela, 3 artabas, total art. 3. I, Apion, have signed.’

(7th hand, lines 18–21) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the past 14th year of Aurelius Antoninus, through the sitologi of the middle toparchy, Nemera, from the deposit of Heraïs daughter of Ischyron, for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus, at Pela, three artabas, total art. 3. I, Hermias, have signed.’

(6th hand, lines 22–3) ‘And because of a loan in advance from the accumulated deposits of the sitologi of Pela, for credit to the same, at Pela, 1/4 of an artaba and 9 choenices.

‘For the 13th year likewise, 1/4 of an artaba and 9 choenices. Total art. 3 1/4 ch. 8. I, Apion, have signed.’

(Col. ii)

(1st hand, lines 24–8) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the 9th year of Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, through the sitologi of the district of Pela, from the deposit of Petosiris son of Petosiris, for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus and to Aphrodite her mother, at Pela, 1 1/2 1/4 artabas and 2 choenices, total art. 1 1/2 1/4 ch. 2. I, Zoilus, assistant, have signed.’

(3rd hand, lines 29–34) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the tenth year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the eastern toparchy, Pakerke, from the deposit of Diog( ), mother Thaeis, for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus and to Aphrodite her mother, at Pela, one artaba and three-quarters and 2 choenices, total art. 1 1/2 1/4 ch. 2. I, Chaeremon(?), have signed.’

(4th hand, lines 35–9) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the past 11th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the upper toparchy, district of Enteüs, from the deposit of Did(ymus?), for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus and to Aphrodite her mother, at Pela, 1 1/2 1/4 artabas and 2 choenices, (total) from the deposit (art.) 1 1/2 1/4 ch. 2.’

(5th hand, lines 40–47) ‘Transferred, in wheat of the produce of the past 12th year of Aurelius Antoninus Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the upper toparchy, district of Enteüs, for credit to Philotera daughter of Stephanus and to Aphrodite her mother, at Pela, one artaba and three-quarters and two choenices, total art. 1 1/2 1/4 ch. 2, from the deposit of Ammo[nius?] son of Diog(enes?). I, Theon alias Hermias, assistant, have signed.’

4 ἀπὸ τῶν προκειμ(ένων): cf. 11, 22? The same usage only in SB XIV 12079.1–2 = H. C. Youtie, *ZPE* 23 (1976) 102 (= *Script. Post.* I 354) where it is translated ‘from the amounts specified’, hard to understand in our context. Perhaps cf. also XLIX 3496 6–7 and SB XII 11151.3–4. In any case, we have lost the expected mention of the sitologi at this point.

5 ἀπὸ προχ(ρεια)ς: cf. the same phrase below, 10 and 22. Note that transfers ἀπὸ προχ(ρεια)ς and transfers ἀπὸ θέματος with a personal name are mutually exclusive.

For the village of Pela, in the western toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell’ Ossirinchiute* 142–5.

11 For the village of Senao, in the western toparchy, see Pruneti, op. cit. 163–4.

19 For the village of Nemera see Pruneti, op. cit. 114–5.

23 (ἀρτ.) ς d χ(οίνικες) η. The calculation shows that an artaba of 40 choenices was used. For a brief summary of the controversy regarding artaba : choenix sizes, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 271–2 with references; also LV 3804 141–2 n.

31 For the village of Pakerke see Pruneti, op. cit. 131–3.

33 μία: so in 45; contrast 6.

37 For the village of Enteüs (which recurs in 42–3) see Pruneti, op. cit. 46–47.

47 Theon alias Hermias is attested in XXXVIII 2871 8 (Seryphis, western toparchy, 175/6) and XII 1539 10, 18 (Petne, middle toparchy, and Isieion Ano, lower toparchy, 179/80). The hand in 2871 is the same as here. It has not been possible to check 1539. Theon was then assistant over a period of at least six years (this new attestation dating from 172/3), but we cannot say whether this period was continuous or not. Assessment of his post is further complicated by the variations in location.

N. LITINAS

## 4590. NOTICES OF TRANSFER OF CREDIT IN GRAIN

26 3B.51/J(10-12)a+b

42.5 × 17 cm

Summer 231

The papyrus preserves the tops of three columns of notices of grain transfers, of the *μεμέτρηται καὶ διεστάλ(η)* type (see the introd. to 4587-90 above) which represents direct physical deposits to the credit of a private account at a state granary, followed by immediate giro transfers of the deposited wheat to meet obligations elsewhere. There is no surplus from these transactions, for credit to the depositor's account; it is perhaps more likely that the giro transfers represented part payment, rather than that a precisely calculated quantity of grain was taken to the granary to meet a specific obligation. The three columns contain a total of six different transactions in perhaps four different hands, with each column relating to a different village.

The transactions concern the produce of the current tenth year of Severus Alexander (230/1) and must therefore be dated in the summer of 231. They would appear to indicate farming on a substantial scale, with 316 artabas paid in tax on one plot at Sko (20), and an area of 81 1/2 aruras perhaps to be deduced from 22-3. The transactions are variously in the names of Aurelia Heraclia daughter of Diogenes (19 n.) and Aurelius Hieracapollon alias Epimachus, (former?) gymnasiarch (10-11 n.). The two certainly operated jointly, cf. the combined amounts in 24 ff., and might have been husband and wife: see further 4 n.

Columns i-ii are now framed separately from column iii, but the two pieces do belong together (and did not form a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*) as the separated manufacturer's three-layer kollesis between columns ii and iii makes clear. The reconstituted text has a straight top edge, but unequal upper margins (col. i 3.5 cm, cols. ii-iii 2.3 cm). Note the repeated damage pattern; the damage in col. iii, seemingly unco-ordinated when the roll is reconstituted with the pieces at the correct level, shows that it took place after col. iii had become separated from the preceding section of the roll. There is another kollesis between columns i and ii, presumably also a manufacturer's kollesis, but damage or repair or both have now rendered the structure complex. The visible surface of the fully preserved middle kollema (with col. ii) measures 17.3 cm.

There is blank space below the text in each of the three columns, but we cannot be sure that there were not other entries after a deep interval; cf. the gaps in 4589.

As with 4589, the *apparatus criticus* for the most part only presents the first occurrence of any form of abbreviation, for economy of space.

On the back is 4591.

Col. i

[μεμέτρητ]αι καὶ διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν) γενή(ματος) τοῦ  
ἐνεστῶτος ι (ἔτους)

[Μάρκου Αὐρηλ]ίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ  
[κυρίου, διὰ cito]λ(όγων) λιβ(ός) το(παρχίας), Σεκεκελ(εύ),

Αὐρηλία Ἡρά-

[κλεια Διογένους c. 5 ] . . . [.]υ Διονυκίου, Σεκεκελ(εύ),

5 [πόλεως, (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας) ἑκατὸν πενή]κοντα ἕξ, (γίνονται)

(ἀρτάβαι) ρνς.

[Αὐρήλ(ιος) c. 20 ]ριος ὁ καὶ Ἀλέξανδρο[ς]

[σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς τοῦ πυροῦ ἀρτάβας ἑκατὸν] πενήκοντα ἕξ.

Col. ii

(m. 2) μεμέτρηται καὶ διεστάλ(η) (πυροῦ) <(ἀρταβῶν)> γενή(ματος) τοῦ  
ἐνεστῶτος ι (ἔτους)

Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ

10 κυρίου, δι(ὰ) citoλ(όγων) λιβ(ός) το(παρχίας) Κερκεθύρεως τό(πων),

Αὐρήλιος

Ἰερακαπόλλων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἐπίμαχος γυμ(ασιάρχ-) δι(ὰ) Διονυκίου υἱοῦ

αἱ διὰ Πισβ( ) γεωργοῦ, Κερκεθύρεως, πόλ[ε]ως,

πυροῦ ἀρτάβ(ας) τριάκοντα δύο, (γίνονται) [(ἀρτάβαι) λβ.]

Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀντώνιος citoλ(όγος) διὰ [Αὐρηλίου ? Τρύ-]

15 φωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Διογένους σεση[μείωμαι.]

Col. iii

(m. 3) μεμέτ(ρηται) καὶ διεστάλ(η) {καὶ διεστάλ(η)} (πυροῦ) (ἀρταβῶν)  
γενή(ματος) τοῦ

ἐνεστ(ῶτος) ι (ἔτους) Μάρκου Αὐρηλίου Σεουήρου

Ἀλεξάνδρου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου, δι(ὰ) citoλ(όγων) ἄνω

το(παρχίας) Cκῶ τό(πων), Ἡράκλεια Διογένους, Cκῶ,

20 πόλεως, ἀρτάβ(ας) τριακοσίας δεκαεξ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) τις.

ὀνό(ματος) Ἰερακαπόλλωνος τοῦ κ(αὶ) Ἐπιμά-

χου, σπερμάτων, ἢ α(ὐτή), πόλεως, ἀρτάβας

ὀγδοήκοντα μίαν ἡμισυ, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) πας,

(γίνονται) ἐ(πι) τό(υ) αὐτ(ὸ) (ἀρτάβαι) τρζς'. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Πετοσίρις

25 citoλ(όγος) σεση(μείωμαι). (m. 4) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀμμώνιος ἀγορ(ανομ-)

βουλ(ευτή)ς σεση(μείωμαι) τὰς τοῦ (πυροῦ) ἀρτάβ(ας) τριακο-

σίας ἐνενήκοντα ἑπτὰ [ἦ]μισυ,

(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) τρζς'. ///

(m. 3?) καὶ δι(ὰ) citoλ(όγων) τῆς α(ὐτή)ς, Αὐρηλ(ία) Ἡρά[κλεια Διογένο]υς,

30 Cκῶ, πόλεως, ἀρτάβας π[εντήκοντα ὀκτώ] ἡμισυ,

(γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) νησ'. Αὐρήλ(ιος) Πετε[ο]ς[ίρις] (όγος) [ . . . ]  
 δι(ἀ) (όγων) τῆς α(ὕτης), [ . . . ]  
 τρις, (γίνονται) (ἀρτάβαι) [ . . . ]

Col. i

1 διεταλ<sup>λ</sup>σ<sup>σ</sup>γενη<sup>η</sup> 5 3 (ατο<sup>λ</sup>? λι<sup>β</sup>το<sup>τ</sup> το<sup>τ</sup> 4 (ενεκε<sup>λ</sup> 5 /σ

Col. ii

8 (γενη<sup>η</sup> 10 δε (ιτολο<sup>γ</sup> 11 (ερακαπολλων ο<sup>κ</sup> γυμ<sup>ς</sup> υ<sup>ι</sup>ου 12 (ιςβ<sup>κ</sup>? 13 αρτα<sup>β</sup>  
 14 (ρη<sup>λ</sup> 15 του<sup>κ</sup>

Col. iii

16 μεμ<sup>τ</sup> γεν<sup>η</sup> 17 (ενε<sup>τ</sup> 18 δ<sup>ς</sup> 21 ονομ<sup>ς</sup> 22 α<sup>τ</sup> 23 ογ<sup>δ</sup>σηκοντα  
 24 ε<sup>τ</sup> αυ<sup>τ</sup> 25 (εση<sup>τ</sup> αγορ<sup>ς</sup> 26 βου<sup>λ</sup>σεε<sup>η</sup> 28 Ligatured filling strokes follow the  
 numeral 33 1. τρε<sup>ις</sup>

Col. i

'Paid in and transferred, in artabas of wheat from the produce of the present 10th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the western toparchy, district of Senekeleu, account of Aurelia Heraclia daughter of Diogenes . . . Dionysius, for city dues at Senekeleu, one hundred and fifty-six artabas of wheat, total art. 156. I, Aurelius . . . -rius alias Alexander have signed for the one hundred and fifty-six artabas of wheat.'

Col. ii

(2nd hand) 'Paid in and transferred, in (artabas of) wheat from the produce of the present 10th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the western toparchy, district of Kerkethyris, account of Aurelius Hieracapollon alias Epimachus, (former?) gymnasiarch, through his son Dionysius, for city dues at Kerkethyris, the thirty-two artabas of wheat paid in by Pibekis(?), tenant, total art. 32. I, Aurelius Antonius, sitologus, have signed through Aurelius Tryphon(?) alias Diogenes.'

Col. iii

(3rd hand) 'Paid in and transferred, in artabas of wheat from the produce of the present 10th year of Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander Caesar the lord, through the sitologi of the upper toparchy, district of Sko, account of Heraclia daughter of Diogenes, for city dues at Sko, three hundred and sixteen artabas, total art. 316.

'In the name of Hieracapollon alias Epimachus, seedcorn, for city dues at the same, eighty-one and a half artabas, total art. 81 1/2, sum total art. 397 1/2. I, Aurelius Petosiris, sitologus, have signed.' (4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Ammonius, (ex-?)agoranomus, councillor, have signed for the three hundred and ninety-seven and a half artabas of wheat, total art. 397 1/2.'

(3rd hand?) 'And through the sitologi of the same, account of Aurelia Heraclia daugh-

ter of Diogenes, for city dues at Sko, fifty-eight and a half artabas, total art. 58 1/2. I, Aurelius Petosiris, sitologus, have signed.

'Through the sitologi of the same, . . . three, total art. . . .'

3 For the village of Senekeleu in the western toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchi* 164-5.

3-4 For the restoration of the name Heraclia see 19.

4 Διονυσίου. Perhaps the name of an agent or tenant, but possibly this could be the same Dionysius as in 11, cf. the suggestion in the introd. above that the two principal figures in these transactions (Heraclia and Hieracapollon) might have been husband and wife.

4-5 (ενεκελ(εύ), πόλεως: i.e. Heraclia made a deposit in the granary which was then credited against what she owed in Senekeleu on account of metropolitan taxes, due from her as a metropolitan on account of her landholdings at Senekeleu. Cf. the same system operating with regard to payment of village taxes in the PSI grain account published by R. A. Coles, *Dai papiri della Società Italiana: Omaggio al XXI Congr. Int. di Papirologia* (1995) no. 12, pp. 62-76.

6 It is not clear how we should supplement the beginning of the line. Possibilities include an inset line, or two signatories (with a plural verb in 7).

7 If the supplement is right, cf. 26, it must have contained further abbreviations, probably (πυροῦ) (ἀρτάβας).

10 For the village of Kerkethyris in the western toparchy, see Pruneti, op. cit. 79-80.

10-11 Αὐρήλιος Ἱερακαπόλλων ὁ κ(αὶ) Ἐπίμαχος γυμνα(σιαρχ-): not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasiarques des métropoles de l'Égypte romaine* = *Stud. Amst.* 28 (1986).

12 For the αὶ διά construction cf. O. Ashm. Shelton 24 (interpreted differently from our translation above) and 25. αὶ here must refer to artabas, not aruras as it was understood in O. Ashm. Shelton 24. Cf. also col. v 13 of the PSI grain account published by Coles (see 4-5 n. above), where αὶ is presented probably wrongly as relative αὖ. Cf. also III 533 8 and XII 1530 13.

Following αὶ διά, perhaps a form of Πιβήκις was intended.

19 For the village of Sko in the upper toparchy, see Pruneti, op. cit. 182-3.

Ἡράκλεια Διογένους: a person who might possibly be identified with this one is attested in XII 1537 8 (late second or early third century) as a landowner at Heraclidou epoikion in the western toparchy. PSI VI 713.4 might also refer to her.

20 For the form δεκαέξ see Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 195-6.

22 (περμάτων. The significance of this is uncertain, but if it refers to the repayment of an advance of seed-corn, then at the standard rate of 1 art./arura the substantial area of 81 1/2 aruras is involved.

25 We suspect that Aurelius Ammonius did not write all of the subscription 25-8, but it is difficult to be certain which words of it were written for him by Petosiris who wrote 16-25.

25-6 Αὐρήλ(ιος) Ἀμμώνιος ἀγορ(ανομ- ) βουλ(ευστής): no Ammonius with these titles has been attested before in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

29-33 These lines should be by the same hand as 16-25, namely Petosiris, see 31; the script is much smaller and paler than 16-25, but the letter-forms are very much the same.

33 At end, τ[ρις] might be read, but figures would be expected here, and presumably the sum was larger than 3.

## 4591. ACCOUNT OF ISSUE OF SEED

26 3B.51/J(10-12)b

42.5 × 17 cm

18-22 November 231?

The two columns of this private account of the issue of seed in wheat and lentils stand on the back of columns i-ii of 4590. Dates covering Hathyr 21-25 of an 11th year are recorded. Phaophi and Hathyr were the usual months of the sowing season (J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 19-20). 4590 dates from the 10th year of Severus Alexander, and more precisely must be assigned within that year to summer 231, see introd. It is most likely that the 11th year here on the back will also be of Severus Alexander, i.e. 231/2; the next 11th year would not be until Gallienus, 263/4. This need not imply that the transactions recorded on 4590 were regarded as waste paper so soon, if these accounts on the back were the memoranda of the person keeping 4590. The hand of 4591 is different from all of the hands of 4590. The writing of col. i overruns a vertical repair strip.

The entries are not in strict chronological order and it is difficult at first sight to be sure whether they were written down in the order that the two-column layout (and the presence of the heading in col. i) would suggest. The two earliest days, the 21st and 22nd, appear in col. ii, lines 8-10 in the continuous numeration. In line 8 (col. ii) the name of Heracles is followed by his occupation, ὑδροπαρόχ(ω) 'irrigator', but his name has appeared without qualification already in lines 6-7 in col. i. In line 9 one of the two small sowing areas, because it has an unfamiliar Egyptian name, is described as the ἔδαφος Χβεῖ λεγόμε(ενον); it occurs simply as Χβεῖ in 10, as expected, but also in the short form in col. i 6. Moreover, line 3 has no day date, but since it directly precedes the entry for the 23rd, it looks as if it relates to the 22nd and therefore follows on from line 10.

In spite of the confusion of the chronology, the document was probably written consecutively from line 1 to 10, although the anomalies suggest that it was compiled from a document which did follow chronological order. The heading (1-2) refers to an 'account of seed issued by me', but 5 is a sub-heading, 'from the farmstead', which presumably applies to all subsequent entries. The precise distinction remains unclear because of our ignorance of the circumstances, but clearly there were two sources of the seed and two grain accounts to be kept separate, and this version was constructed for that purpose.

The compiler of the account may be the owner of an estate, perhaps the Heraclia or Hieracapollon of 4590, or more probably one of the managers of such an estate. The two immediate recipients were Diogenes, steward of a small unit of the estate watered by an irrigation machine named after someone called Charion(?), and Heracles, who managed the water supply of an area with the Egyptian name of Chbei. Presumably these two supervised the labourers who sowed the grain in their areas. In chronological order the entries can be tabulated as follows:

Day	Recipient	Place	Grain	Amount	Issued by/from
21	Heracles	Chbei	lentils	art. 1/4, ch. 2	farmstead
22	Heracles	Chbei	lentils	art. 1/4, ch. 2	farmstead

22?	Diogenes	Charionis	lentils?	art. 3	me
23	Diogenes	Charionis?	wheat	art. 3	me
24	Heracles	Chbei	wheat?	art. 2	farmstead
25	Heracles	Chbei?	wheat?	art. 3	farmstead?
	(through Anicetus)				

The question marks indicate where the information is not specified in the text but carried forward without contradiction from a preceding entry.

It appears that the month was divided into 5-day 'weeks', as often for agricultural work or compulsory dyke corvée. The amounts issued were presumably intended to be sown on the day of issue.

Wheat was usually sown at the rate of 1 artaba per arura, from which we can say that line 4 refers to three aruras of land to be sown with wheat, probably at Charionis(?), mentioned in line 3; if lentils were sown at the same rate and if it is correct to assume that lentils are meant in line 3 because it seems to follow chronologically on 10, there were three more aruras there occupied by that crop. At Chbei lentils occupied at least ar. 3<sup>5</sup>; two aruras certainly there were probably sown with wheat (6), three more probably there were probably sown with wheat (7), five aruras of wheat in all. Thus the area concerned at Charionis(?) probably totalled 6 aruras, and at Chbei ar. 5<sup>3</sup>. Of course we do not know how much land was cultivated in those places; the work may have extended to other days before or after the week concerned here. Leases mentioned in LV 3803 introd. refer to machines irrigating parcels of 30, 21 and 12 aruras, and a similar machine in LXIII 4390 served 19 1/2 aruras.

col. i

(ἔτους) ια. λόγ(ος) σπερμάτων ἐξοδία[[ε]]-

θέντων ὑπ' ἐμοῦ.

Διογένει φροντ(ιστῆ) εἰς μηχαν(ήν) Χαρι. ν( )

(ἀρτάβαι) γ

κ̄χ. τῷ αὐτῷ πυροῦ

(ἀρτάβαι) γ

5 ἀπὸ ἐποικίου

κ̄δ. Ἡρακλέω εἰς Χβεῖ

(ἀρτάβαι) β

κ̄ε. Ἡρακλέω διὰ Ἀνικῆτ(ου)

(ἀρτάβαι) γ

col. ii

Ἀθῦρ κ̄α. Ἡρακλέω ὑδροπαρόχ(ω)

εἰς ἔδαφος Χβεῖ λεγόμε(ενον) φακῆς

(ἀρτάβης) δ χ(οίνικες) β.

10 κ̄β. τῷ αὐτῷ φακῆς εἰς Χβεῖ

&lt;(ἀρτάβης)&gt; δ χ(οίνικες) β.

1 Lια//λογ

3 φροντ

μηχα<sup>α</sup>χαρι. ν

τ

7 ανικητ; 1. Ἀνικῆτου

8 υδροπαροχ

9 λεγο<sup>μ</sup> χ<sup>β</sup>



col. i

‘Year 11. Account of seed issued by me.

To Diogenes, steward, for the irrigation area of Charion(?) (?) art. 3

23rd. To the same, wheat art. 3

From the farmstead:

24th. To Heracles, for Chbei art. 2

25th. To Heracles through Anicetus art. 3’

col. ii

‘Hathyr 21st. To Heracles, irrigator  
for the plot called Chbei, lentils art. 1<sup>4</sup>, ch. 2.22nd. To the same, lentils, for Chbei (art.) 1<sup>4</sup>, ch. 2.’

3 μηχαν(ήν): see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil dans l'Égypte grecque, romaine et byzantine* 104–5: the meaning of μηχανή could be either ‘la terre cultivable irriguée par les appareils en question’, as it must be here, or ‘la saqiâ, “roue élévatrice (d'eau) à manège circulaire”’.

Χαρι, υ( ): after ρ there is a vertical stroke, followed by a half round stroke like a cup, without joining each other. A reading Χαρίων(ος) is probable, but the name Χαρίων has not been attested so far in the papyri. Cf., however, Fraser and Matthews, *A Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* i. 483 (for Andros, Crete, Cyprus) and Pape-Benseler, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* 1674. For named μηχαναί see LXVI 4537 1–2 n.

4 κ̄ϛ. The second digit looks at first sight like ε (= 5) but κ̄ε occurs below in its proper sequence. Here it seems right to interpret the digit as a cursive ϛ in which both elements are rather curved.

6 For the form Ἡρακλέω as dative of Ἡρακλῆς cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 71; also P. Harr. II 234.

εἰς Χβεῖ: so 10; cf. 9 εἰς ἔδαφος Χβεῖ λεγόμενον. Not attested so far in the papyri as either a personal or place name. When the field was mentioned for the first time in the papyrus (9; 6 was probably written later in the document from which 4591 was compiled, see introd.), it was named ‘the so called’, λεγόμενον. In the Roman period this participle was often attached to Egyptian names, cf. P. Erl. 21.15 and *passim* λεγόμενον Αἰγυπτιαί. The name could be a transcription of the Demotic place name *Vby*, attested both in the Delta and Middle Egypt (W. J. Tait); cf. Spiegelberg, P. Loeb, p. x.

7 For the form Ἀνίκητος for Ἀνίκητος cf. PUG I 22.5. For such insertion of nasals cf. Gignac, *Grammar* i. 118.

8 Ἡρακλέω ὑδροπαρόχ(ω): clearly the same Heracles as in 6–7, but probably this entry was originally written first (see introd.), hence the inclusion here of his occupation.

For the irrigators see R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 5 (1968) 101–102, with references for ὑδροπάροχος and derivatives in the papyri. Add: PSI VIII 947.20, 25 (185/6); PSI XVII Congr., pp. 50–1, 16 (II–III); SB XVIII 13174.12 (258); XLIX 3515 3; 3516 3 (both 260–282); PSI VIII 890 ii 24, 33 (III); SB XIV 11908.9 (III); P. Heid. V 344.6, 11 (311); SB XVI 12755.3, 7, 13, 19–20; XVIII 13307.5 (IV); L 3582 3, 6 (442); 3585 5 (V); P. Wash. Univ. I 55.4, 5 (V); SB XIV 12050.20 (V); BGU XII 2160.13 (488); 2175.4 (V–VI); P. Vind. Salomons 9.8, 9 (509); P. Strasb. V 486 (549/50); P. Heid. V 352.11 (558); LV 3804 214 (566); P. Laur. I 7.4 (VI). This employee was a ‘private individual, paid for his services by his clients, cultivators of lands, either in currency or in kind. This private status would not prevent him from working for the public lands’ (Bagnall, *op. cit.* 101).

N. LITINAS

## 4592. LETTER OF A ROMAN EMPEROR (?)

No inv. no.

14.3 × 14.0 cm, 3.2 × 2.1 cm

Late second or early third century

First published by J. W. B. Barns, ‘A letter of Severus Alexander’, *JEA* 52 (1966) 141–6, with Pl. XXXV, whence *SB X* 10295; re-editions by J. R. Rea, ‘A letter of Severus Alexander?’, *CE* 42 (1967) 391–6, cf. P. J. Parsons, ‘A proclamation of Vaballathus?’, *CE* 42 (1967) 397–401, A. K. Bowman, ‘A letter of Avidius Cassius?’, *JRS* 60 (1970) 20–6 with Pl. IV, J. Schwartz, ‘L’empereur Alexandre Sévère, le *SB X* 10295 et le *P. Fay.* 20’, *ZPE* 61 (1985) 122–4. Reproduced as Doc. 185 in J. H. Oliver, *Greek Constitutions of Early Roman Emperors from Inscriptions and Papyri* (Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society 178 (Philadelphia, 1989)).

A medium-brown papyrus written in a hand described by its first editor as ‘semi-literary’ and ‘inexperienced’ or ‘immature’, citing parallels from the second century; judged by Parsons to be more likely early third century (and admitted to be a strong argument against his assignment of the letter to Vaballathus, see below). The letters tend towards uncial forms and are clearly separated. The hand on the verso (which is not necessarily different from that on the recto, *pace* Schwartz, who does not include the verso in his transcript of the text) is the type of ‘chancery’ hand which is commonly found in addresses from the early third century onwards, though there are examples of this type of hand from the second century (e.g. P. Köln VIII 351, AD 190). On palaeographical grounds it is impossible to assign a date more precise than the late second or early third century.

The text is complete at the left margin and (possibly) at the foot. There are perhaps at least two lines missing at the top (Bowman, p. 21). Since the restoration of lines 7–8 is certain, the approximate number of letters lost in each line can be calculated. A re-examination of the pattern of fibres on the verso confirmed that the small fragment should be placed as in Bowman, Pl. IV, rather than Barns Pl. XXXV.

All commentators agree that the content suggests that this is a letter of an emperor or usurper but the identity of the author has been variously conjectured: a letter of Severus Alexander (Barns, who thought it an autograph); Maximinus the Thracian (Rea); Vaballathus (Parsons); Avidius Cassius (Bowman); Severus Alexander again (Schwartz); Pescennius Niger (J. Spiess, *Avidius Cassius und der Aufstand des Jahres 175* (Diss. München 1975), 54 n. 1, but without any supporting argument). Certainty seems unattainable. The attribution to Avidius Cassius would connect with P. Amst. I 27 (P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 8 (1971) 186–92 = SB XII 10991), an edict of the prefect Calvisius Statianus, and is accepted by, among others, M. L. Astarita, *Avidio Cassio* (Rome, 1983), 93, and R. Syme, *Roman Papers* v (Oxford, 1988) 689–701, who suggests that Avidius Cassius was born at Alexandria, when his father Avidius Heliodorus and his wife will have accompanied Hadrian on his visit to Egypt in 130 and that he will have been there as a boy during Heliodorus’ prefecture of Egypt (p. 696), cf. below, 11–12 n. Schwartz’s subsequent attempt to restate the case for Severus Alexander, connecting the promised benefits with the remission of crown-tax proffered in P. Fay. 20,



produced one attractive textual improvement (see 2 n.) but no new compelling or substantive argument. Individual points are dealt with in the notes below, avoiding detailed repetition of the historical arguments set out in *JRS* 60 (1970).

Ἀλεξαν[δρε]ῖς εν . [ c. 16 ]  
 καὶ παιδ[ε]ῖας επικ[.] [ c. 13 ]  
 τὴν πρὸ[ς] ἐμὲ εὐνοια[ν] c. 12 ἐν  
 τοῖς κτέρνο[ι]ς περιφέροντ[ε]ς τὴν [ c. 5 ]  
 5 γνώμην π[αρ]εμείνατε. ἀφικνοῦμ[αι] οὖν  
 πρὸς ὑμᾶς τῆ[χ]η ἀγαθῆ, κεχε[ι]ροτονη[μέν]ος  
 μὲν αὐτοκράτωρ ὑπὸ τῶν γενναιοτάτ[ων]  
 στρατιωτῶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρ' [ὑμῶν]  
 αἰκίως πα[ρ]ελευσόμενο[ς], καὶ ἀφ' ὑμῶ[ν]  
 10 μάλιστα ἀρξάμενος τῆς τοῦ εὐ ποιεῖν [ἐξου-  
 σίας, ὅσον δίκαιόν ἐστιν παρέχειν [τῆ πα-  
 τρώα πόλει π[  
 [ἐτ]οῦς ᾠ, Φαρμ[οῦθι

Verso:

[A]πολιναρίω \ / βουλευτ(ῆ) πρ. [  
 / \

10 ποιεῖν Verso βουλευτ

'... Alexandrians ... upbringing (?) ... your (?) goodwill towards me ... you continued keeping in your breasts the same (?) disposition. I am coming to you in good fortune, having been elected *imperator* by the most noble soldiers. Being auspiciously about to come to power among you and in particular having begun with you in the exercise of conferring benefits, [I will bestow (or 'have bestowed?')] as much as is just to bestow on my ancestral (?) city ...

'Year 1, Pharmouthi ...

(Verso) 'To Apolinarius, councillor, ...'

<sup>1</sup> Ἀλεξαν[δρε]ῖς: the placing of the small fragment, first suggested by Rea, 391 (cf. introd. above) is the main basis for this reading.

<sup>2</sup> παιδ[ε]ῖας: an attractive suggestion of Schwartz, though he does not take account of the trace of the penultimate letter visible on the papyrus. The traces of the fourth letter are compatible with Δ. Understood by Rea and Bowman as from παῖς but παιδ[ε]ῖας in the sense of 'upbringing' or 'education' would make particularly good sense in the context of the suggestion of Syme that Avidius Cassius spent part of his boyhood in Alexandria

(see introd.). This interpretation cannot fit Schwartz's reassignment of the text to Severus Alexander; he draws a looser connection between Alexandria and the emperor's second cognomen.

4 At the end of the line Rea offers various possibilities, preferring either τῆν[δε τῆν] or τῆν [αὐτῆν]; Schwartz and Oliver restore the latter.

5 π[ρο]εμείνατε, ἀφικνοῦμ[αι] οὖν Schwartz. The traces do not favour π[ρο]εμείνατε since there seems to be no trace of ς; there is ink at the left of the ε but the crossbar sometimes protrudes to the left in this hand. The sense would hardly differ; Schwartz translates 'que vous persistez dans les mêmes sentiments'. The reference to a visit could be either actual or promised and is therefore not decisive. There is no evidence for a visit to Alexandria by Avidius Cassius (Bowman, 24) or by Severus Alexander at the beginning of his reign (for evidence of a planned visit in 232/3 see J. D. Thomas, W. Clarysse, 'A projected visit of Severus Alexander to Egypt', *Ancient Society* 8 (1977) 195-207 = SB XIV 11651, P. van Minnen, J. D. Sosin, 'Imperial Pork: Preparations for a Visit of Severus Alexander and Iulia Mamaea to Egypt', *Ancient Society* 27 (1996) 171-81).

6-8 There is a question as to whether δέ after μέν is adversative. μέν . . . δέ may just represent two different aspects of the same situation. However, if adversative, the contrast between election as *imperator* by the soldiers and entering upon ἀρχή is emphatic. In the case of Avidius Cassius the distinction may be explicable by the supposition that the letter was written after he became aware that the rumours of the death of Marcus Aurelius were false (Bowman, 25); Rea (394) notes the possibility that the phrasing suggests a usurper. Schwartz explains it by reference to the distinction between Καίσαρ and Αὐτοκράτωρ made in Severus Alexander's edict on the remission of crown-tax, P. Fay. 20.7 and 11. On the chronology see below, 13 n.

8 ἀρχὴν π. [ Schwartz. The justification for reading traces of one or two more letters is given by Bowman, 21 (n. to line 8) and is visible on Barns's original plate. Schwartz suggests π[ά]ντων as a possible restoration.

11-12 [τῆ πα]τρώα πόλει π[ : the reasons for the restoration and the explanation of the reference in the context of Avidius Cassius' usurpation are given by Bowman (25), reinforced by Syme (see above). For Maximinus (Rea, 393), the reference would either be a general one to Rome or would reflect a legionary command held by Maximinus in Alexandria; for Vaballathus (Parsons, 398) a reference to Zenobia's claim of descent from the Alexandrian dynasty; Schwartz supposes a weaker and more general reference to 'la métropole' (as if μη-]τρώα, but there seems to be no parallel for this use with πόλις). At the end of line 12 Barns's edition merely signified the traces, but they support the reading of π; restore either π[α]ρεῖχον (Rea, Bowman) or π[α]ρέξω (Schwartz, Oliver).

13 The date is between 27 March and 25 April. This would fit the chronological evidence for the revolt of Avidius Cassius, see Bowman, 25; the earliest document certainly dated by his reign is an ostrakon dated Pachon 8 = 3 May (*Bull. Inst. Eg.* ser. 3. 7 (1896) 123), but see now P. Köln II 85 where the probable date is 1 Pachon = 26 April; Marcus Aurelius alone reappears by Mesore 4 = 28 July (O. Bodl. II 1487). The date is also not inconsistent with the chronology of the accession of Severus Alexander, which was on 13 March (Fink, *RMR* 117.I.23-6, the Feriale Duranum); P. Fay. 20, his edict on crown-tax, on which see A. K. Bowman, 'The Crown-Tax in Roman Egypt,' *BASP* 4 (1967) 59-74, is dated to Payni 1 = 26 May (cf. Schwartz, 124).

Verso πρε[σβυτάτ(ω)] Barns; πρυ[τάνει] Rea; πρε[σβευτῆ] Bowman. The trace of the last letter allows either ε or γ. There is no evidence for the existence of the term βουλευτῆς πρεσβύτατος, translated by Barns as 'senior senator'. The restoration by Rea is possible, but the connection with the year 235 is rendered less plausible by the evidence showing that the prytanis at Oxyrhynchus in that year was Aurelius Pecyllus alias Theon. A restoration of πρυ[τανεύαντι] is possible and would more comfortably allow the argument for a third-century date. The use of the term βουλευτῆς predisposes in favour of a date after AD 200 (as Schwartz argues) but an earlier date is not ruled out if this text has a connection with Antinoopolis; the strongest argument in favour of this is the possible identification of Apolinarius as an Antinoite councillor (perhaps identical with the Apolinarius of *W. Chr.* 27) and πρεσβευτῆς, cf. VI 933, see Bowman, 22-3. It would also be possible to restore πρυ[τανικῶ], which is Apolinarius' title in *W. Chr.* 27, but the (admittedly slender) evidence for the titulature of Antinoite councillors does not offer any support for βουλευτῆς πρυτανικός.

## 4593. PETITION TO THE PREFECT CONCERNING A LITURGY

32 4B.7/K(1-2)

(a) 25 × 11 cm  
(b) 15 × 9.5 cmBetween 206 and 211  
Plate VIII

Several fragments survive which can be combined into two substantial pieces. The larger (a) preserves the top margin and is complete at the right. Fragment (b) belongs below (a) and also preserves line-ends. It is not likely that the two fragments overlap; see 13 n. There is a kollesis 5.5 cm from the right-hand edge. The back is blank. I am grateful to Dr John Rea, Prof. Naphtali Lewis and Dr Rudolf Haensch for discussing its problems with me.

The text consists of a petition to the prefect of Egypt, Subatianus Aquila, in which the petitioner complains that he has illegally been appointed to perform two liturgies at the same time. To this petition he prefaces (as was normal) the imperial directive on which he relied to justify his claim that the action was illegal. He also quotes from a trial before an earlier prefect, Q. Maecius Laetus.

The question of the legality of serving in two liturgies concurrently was examined in detail by Naphtali Lewis in *Atti XI Congresso*, 522-5, reprinted in his *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup>, 160-2. He concluded that such appointments were illegal at least from the time of Pius and that the illegality was reinforced by Septimius Severus. Whether they were actually illegal at the time of Pius may be disputable. In *Misc. Pap.* (Pap. Flor. VII; 1980), 363-4, I discussed the prefectorial edict PSI XIV 1406 (c. 140) and argued that it related to practices, including the simultaneous performance of two liturgies, which the prefect regarded as inequitable, if others thereby escaped altogether, but which were not necessarily illegal; and I raised the question whether the performance of two liturgies at once did not become illegal until Severus declared it to be so (n. 22). That it was illegal by the time of Severus is asserted in PSI XII 1243.15-18, where the petitioner says *τοῖς κυρίοις ἡμῶν Ἀυτοκράτορσι* (i.e. Severus and Caracalla) *ἔδοξεν μὴ ὑφ' ἑνα καιρὸν δύο λιτουργίας τινὰ ἐκτελεῖν*. In the introduction to PSI 1243 the editor says 'importerebbe invece conoscere la costituzione imperiale che egli invoca, per la quale non era lecito attribuire contemporaneamente allo stesso individuo una doppia liturgia'. It would appear that the imperial pronouncement to which the petitioner of PSI 1243 refers is the one partially preserved in 4593. It may be worth pointing out that this is not the rescript of Severus reported in Digest L 1.18 (Paulus), *Diuus Seuerus rescripsit interualla temporum in continuandis oneribus inuitis, non etiam uolentibus concessa, dum ne quis continuet honorem*. This relates to the performance of successive public services without a break, not to the performance of more than one service simultaneously.

A large number of judicial decisions issued during the visit of Severus and Caracalla to Egypt in 199-200 are attested in the papyri. Additions to the documents listed in P. Col. VI, pp. 27-30, are given in LI 3614 introd. and LXIV 4435 1 n. Add XLVII 3364 1-9, P. Stras. IV 224.1-4, and perhaps 254; for SB IV 7366 see W. Williams, *ZPE* 22 (1976) 241, and for P. Col. VI 123 see the revised text by H. C. Youtie republished as SB VI 9526. See also the tables on pp. 27-9 and 123-5 in Jean-Pierre Coriat, *Le prince législateur: la technique*

*législative des Sévères et les méthodes de création du droit impérial à la fin du principat* (1997). Most of these judicial decisions are of the following type: the full imperial titles of Severus and Caracalla, the name of the addressee in the dative (without *χαίρειν*), a brief statement of the Emperors' decision, the posting clause, and the date. 4593 clearly belongs to this type, being particularly similar in format to the decisions quoted in P. Col. 123 and which are there called *ἀποκρίματα*. The precise judicial meaning of this term has been much discussed, see Coriat, *op. cit.* 91-3; he regards an *ἀπόκριμα* as 'un rescrit par souscription . . . une consultation (*responsum*) donnée soit directement par écrit . . . soit oralement, dans un premier temps, puis confirmée dans un écrit — et c'est à cette seconde forme que pourraient appartenir les décisions du P. Col. 123'. In *JRS* 64 (1974) 88-90 W. Williams refers to them as 'subscripts' (cf. also Fergus Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World*, 244-5), a term which I borrow for convenience. The most remarkable feature of 4593 is that it is said to have been posted at Memphis not at Alexandria. On this see 4 n.

The text is datable to the prefecture of Subatianus Aquila. We know that he was in office by November 206 (for this and subsequent dates in this paragraph see G. Bastianini, *ANRW* ii. 10.1, 512, based on the evidence collected by him in *ZPE* 17 (1975) 305-6 and 38 (1980) 85-6). The latest date for his predecessor (Claudius Julianus) is some time in the Egyptian year 205/6. The last attestation for Aquila as prefect is in January/February 211 and the earliest known date for his successor (L. Baebius Aurelius Juncinus) is some time in the year 211/12. We can slightly reduce the possible time-span since the official complained of was an *ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς*. This office had replaced that of *γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως* at Oxyrhynchus by March 207 (XVII 2131), but the latter still existed as late as February 206 (XXXIV 2709; for the date see XLVII 3346 1 n.).

The papyrus is all written in the same practised, semi-cursive hand. The similarity of this hand to the one responsible for LXIV 4435 is very close and both could be the work of the same writer. 4435 is part of a dossier on *restitutio in integrum* and is therefore unlikely to have formed part of the same papyrus as 4593, which appears to be complete in itself (cf., however, 10 n.). If both are in the same hand, this may be because both were written by a clerk in the employ of an Oxyrhynchite lawyer who collected precedents to assist his practice. The papyri make it clear that a large amount of legal business was generated by the judicial pronouncements made by the Emperors during their Egyptian visit in 199-200. For a recent discussion of the views on why these pronouncements are attested with some frequency in the papyri see Coriat, *op. cit.* 624-7.

(a)

[Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπ]τίμιος Σεουήρος Ε[ὺς]εβῆς  
[Περτί]ναξ Σεβαστὸς Ἀραβικὸς Ἀδιαβηνικὸς Παρθικὸς  
[Μέγιστος καὶ Ἀυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ] Μάρκος Ἀνρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος  
Εὺσεβῆς Σεβαστὸς Αἰλίω Πρίμω. ἐὰν  
[ c. 15 ] . c ἀπ[ο]δ[ε]ιξ[ί] . . . . . τον γερονέαι, ὁ ἡγούμαινος τοῦ



For the Serapeum at Memphis see Calderini-Daris, *Dizionario* iii. 261, and P. Bottigelli, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 29–32.

Δεκεμβρίων: the spelling may have arisen under the influence of *Septentrio*. The year is not given, but must be 199 so as to fall within the period when Severus and Caracalla were in Egypt. The date is therefore 9 December 199.

The information contained in this line may be relevant to the period of this visit and the itinerary which it followed. J. Hasebroek, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, 118–24, proved that the visit took place in 199–200; in particular he relied on seven dated subscriptis which all fell between 18 December 199 and April 200. He believed that the Emperors arrived in Egypt not long before 18 December 199. K. Hannestad, on the other hand, in *Classica et Medievalia* 6 (1944) 194 ff., argued that the Emperors arrived in Egypt at the very beginning of the Julian year 199. H. Halfmann, *Itinera principum*, 217–21, rejects the chronology proposed by Hannestad, basing his rejection on the evidence of P. Yale inv. 299. In its original publication as P. Coll. Youtie I 30, this prefectorial edict was dated to Pharmuthi (late March–April) of 199. As Naphtali Lewis, *Historia* 28 (1979) 253–4, pointed out, if the Emperor had been already present in the province by March–April 199 the edict would have been issued by him and not by the prefect. In his republication of the edict, however, in *ZPE* 27 (1977) 151–6 (now = SB XIV 12144), John Rea comments that the traces of the month's name which survive are too damaged to permit any sure reading (p. 156 to lines 24–5).

The point should be made that the fact that **4593** was posted in Memphis does not necessarily mean that the Emperors were present there on that date or indeed that they issued this judgement at Memphis. In P. Yale I 61, for example, the prefect states that petitions sent to him (with his *subscriptiones*), which have already been on display in Alexandria for *ἀνταρκέων ἡμέραις*, should now be exhibited in the chora (*ἐπὶ τόπων*). Similarly it is possible that Severus issued all his judicial decisions at Alexandria, but arranged for them to be exhibited also in prominent cities in the chora, of which Memphis would certainly be one. Coriat, however, *op. cit.* 625, states 'Il n'existe aucune preuve qui permette de penser que les rescrits [by which he means here the Columbia *ἀποκρίματα* and similar decisions] étaient comme les édits, affichés, outre à la résidence de l'empereur, dans les cités d'une province.'<sup>32</sup> This suggests that the imperial court most probably was at Memphis when this subscript was posted.

Dio 75(76).13 implies that Severus entered Egypt at Pelusium and states that he travelled up the Nile to the southern frontier. He must therefore have visited Memphis, as the *Historia Augusta*, *Severus* 17.4, specifically says that he did. Hasebroek adduces IGR I 1113, an inscription of 199/200, as proof that Severus paid a visit to Memphis in that year. Halfmann places this visit and the journey up the Nile in 200, after Severus' stay in Alexandria. Hannestad, however, may be right in placing it in 199, before Severus reached Alexandria in December. Hasebroek suggests the Emperors had reached Alexandria before 10 December 199, because an inscription set up in their honour near Alexandria by *decuriones* of two *alae* (CIL III 6581) still records *trib. pot VII* for Severus. There seems, however, to be no compelling reason to draw this conclusion from the inscription. The earliest dated subscript posted at Alexandria is BGU I 267 of 30 December 199 (the place of posting does not survive for P. Flor. 382.17–23, an edict, and 24–26, a subscript, both dated 18 December). But LXIV **4435** 7–12 may prove that Severus had reached Alexandria slightly earlier than this. This section of **4435** records a judgement given in court by an Emperor on 20 December. If the *Καίσαρ* who gives judgement is Severus (as in, for example, XLII **3019**, LI **3614**), which is probable since the lines before this record a judicial decision of Severus and Caracalla, the date is no doubt 20 December 199. As the judgement was given in answer to a petition from Alexandrians, it is most probable that it was given in Alexandria.

We need also to consider the evidence of XLII **3018** 1–10. This preserves imperial pronouncements relating to privileges of the Pacanistae. There is a date of *η (ἔτους) Φαρμ(ούθι) ι.* in line 5 and one of *πρὸ ἑπτὰ εἰδῶν Δεκεμβρίων* in line 10. The editor regarded lines 1–10 as a single pronouncement confirming an earlier decision. J. H. Oliver, however, argued that lines 1–5 and 6–10 recorded two separate constitutions (see his republication in *Greek Constitutions*, nos. 241–2). The first was issued in the names of Severus and Caracalla and so, because of its date, must belong, as the editor said, 'to the series which Severus issued during his Egyptian visit'. We do not know the place and year where and when the second pronouncement was made. Both the editor and Oliver think

somewhere outside Egypt probable. If, however, Oliver is right, as he seems to be, that we have not one but two pronouncements, and if he is right in thinking that the second was, like the first, the work of Severus, there must be a good chance that it too was issued during his Egyptian visit. If so it was posted on 7 December 199; we do not know where, but Memphis would make very good sense: the subscript is addressed to Παιλαιῶν Ἀρχεινοειτῶν παλαιονομῶν, who were associated with the cult of Sarapis at Memphis (see Oliver, 464). It may also be significant that this pronouncement, like **4593** but unlike all other subscriptis of Severus issued in Egypt, has a Latin date (the section of **4435** referred to above has a Latin date, as do XLII **3019** and LI **3614**, but these are all judgements given in court by Severus, not subscriptis). If it does date from 7 December 199, it, like **4593**, is earlier than any known subscript of Severus posted at Alexandria. A possible scenario would be the following: autumn 199 Severus and Caracalla enter Egypt at Pelusium and travel up the Nile to Philae (possibly, but not necessarily, after a preliminary visit to Alexandria); on their return they hold court in Memphis in early December before arriving in Alexandria later in the month.

5 For the dates of the prefecture of Subatianus Aquila see the introduction.

6–7 SB I 4284, which dates from 207, begins in a very similar way (lines 6–7): οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν θύοτατοι καὶ ἀήττητοι Αὐτοκράτορες Σεουήρος καὶ Ἀντωνεῖνος ἀνατεῖλαντες [ἐ]ν (τῇ) ἐα[υ]τῶν Αἰγύπτῳ, μεθ' ὧν πλεί(τ)ων ἀγαθῶν ἔδωρήσαντο, ἠθέλησαν κτλ. It may be that SB 4284 (now in Cairo) does not need correcting and that the papyrus reads ἀνατεῖλαντες [τ]ῇ ἑαυτῶν; the preposition hardly seems necessary.

7 ἐπιλάμβαντες: for the use of this word in inscriptions see G. Chalon, *L'Édit de Tibérius Julius Alexander*, 97 n. 15. It is always used with reference to emperors or kings. In papyri it is found elsewhere only in BGU VII 1563.15 (also the edict of Alexander), XLVII **3366** 7 and 51, and P. Oslo III 126.5. The editors of P. Oslo 126 adopt Wilcken's suggestion (see line 5 n.) that the imperial pair in their text must be Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. But all we can be sure of about P. Oslo 126 is that it is later than Hadrian; it is therefore quite possible that this text too is referring to Severus and Caracalla.

8 τῷ ἡγουμένῳ τοῦ ἔθνους: the restoration seems inevitable, cf. line 3.

διετάξαντο: for a similar use of the middle cf. XLVII **3364** 29 and XLII **3025** 5.

9 ] . ης: a word meaning acting illegally, *vel sim.*, seems called for. παρανομήσας, suggested by both Rea and Lewis, may be possible, with, e.g., τοῦτο δέ το precede.

For the bearing the reference to an ἀμφοδογραμματεὺς has on the date of the text see the introduction.

10 οὐδὲ πλ[ηρώς]αντά μαι τὰ ἔτη [. . . .]. [. . . .]: πλ[ηρώς]αντα was suggested by Rea. λ fits the traces well, but the first λ in πλ[ηρώς]αντα is difficult as it looks much more like ε. However, we do not want the passive πληρωθέντα. It is not clear what these years are to which the petitioner refers. Years of respite between liturgies would make good sense, supplying ἀναπαύσεως or τῆς ἀνέσεως (for which see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> 160–2). However, the trace before προτάξας is not compatible with c; it would suit n, but the plural of either noun is not attractive. Rea wonders whether we should think of τῆς ἡλικίας (the reading α[ε] before προτάξας is possible), and points out that this could provide a link between **4593** and **4435** (see the last paragraph of the introduction), since *restitutio in integrum* is particularly applicable to minors.

11 A possible supplement would be τοῦτου διατεταγμένα ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Α[ὐτοκρατόρων] (the λ is almost certain). This could have been followed by καὶ ὑποτάξας τὸν γενόμενον, with a reference in the following line to the ὑπομνηματισμὸν of Maecius Laetus, quoted in lines 14 ff.

12 There is a small detached fragment reading ]μπροτατ[, clearly some case of λαμπρότατος. It seems quite likely to have fitted somewhere in this line, forming part of an expression such as ἀξιώ σε, λαμπρότατε ἡγεμῶν, ἐάν σου τῇ τύχῃ δόξη. If this is on the right lines, the lacuna before it could have been completed by περὶ τοῦτου ἡγεμονικὸν ὑπομνηματισμὸν. These supplements have been adopted in the translation.

13 ] . μ[ ]: the first letter might be a 'final' c with a prolonged horizontal, or the horizontal might be a bar over a numeral. The letters following could also be read κσ[ ] διακοῦκαί μου in the preceding line suggests that we are near the end of the petition proper, but the meagre remains in the present line do not suggest any part of the usual conclusions to petitions. It seems impossible to make them fit the end of 14, and it is probably best to assume that at least one line has been entirely lost; cf. also 23 n.

14–15 (ἔτους) θ Ζεου[ήρου] is a reasonably secure reading. Probably καὶ Ἀντωνίου followed, and then month

and day. Laetus was in office during the 9th year of Severus (200/201), see Bastianini, *ANRW* ii. 10.1, 512. The date may well have been preceded by ἀντίγραφον ὑπομνηματισμοῦ; cf. P. Fouad 23, which begins with these words, followed by (ἔτους) η' Ἀντωνίου Καίσαρος τοῦ κυρίου Φαμ[ενώ]θ' κς. Δείος [Ζ]εύξιδος προσελθὼν εἶπεν. No doubt **4593** followed a similar pattern, with the name and patronymic of the plaintiff, Heron, occurring in line 15.

14ff. An interesting comparison for these lines is the trial before Laetus first published by Rea in *JJP* 19 (1983) 91–101, republished as SB XVI 12949.

15–16 Supply πόλεως or τῆς πόλεως at the start of 16. The post of γραμματεὺς τῆς πόλεως had not been superseded at Oxyrhynchus at the time when Laetus was prefect, see the introduction above. But there is of course no reason why this trial should relate to Oxyrhynchus. Heron may be stating that he is a donkey-driver and therefore the scribes have agreed that he should not be liable for any other public service. Alternatively, as Lewis suggests, it may be that he is claiming that as a villager he is not liable to public service in the metropolis: cf. line 17 and SB V 7696.

16 κατέχη: part of a question posed by Laetus. For the passive of κατέχομαι as a technical term meaning that 'one is obligated to serve' in a liturgy, see Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> 61.

17 ποταπή: also used of a liturgy in P. Mich. VIII 492.20–1, εἰς εἰδῆς ὅτι ὁ κωμογραμματεὺς ἔβαλέν με εἰς χρείαν, δήλωσόν μοι ὅτι εἰς ποταπήν χρείαν με ἔβαλε.

18 One would like to read εἶπεν after πόλεως and treat this as a remark addressed to the scribe by Laetus; but this seems to be an impossible reading, nor does it seem possible to read an abbreviated form of εἶπεν.

19 Clearly this is a question put by Laetus and at the start ἐπιστάμενος is a likely supplement.

20ff. These lines contain Laetus' judgement. A good parallel is PSI XIII 1326.9–12: μεθ' ἕτερα Μακρίνος [the prefect] εἶπεν· 'μεγάλα' καὶ κκεψάμενος μετὰ τῶν ἐν τῷ συμβουλίῳ ἐκέλευ[σεν] Ψάειν ξυν[ληφ]θέντα ἐπι[.]

20–1 Supply κα[κῶν] and treat as an exclamation 'How many evils have you been guilty of!?' Cf. μεγάλα used by Macrinus in the passage just quoted.

22 γραμματ[εὺς ὧ]ν πόλεως: an uncertain reading, but good sense as part of an accusatory statement by Laetus to one of the defendants.

23 ] . ιον. [: the traces would suit ]δίους[; possibly supply ἐπιτη]δίους (i. ἐπιτηδείους) as Revel Coles suggests.

πορο suggests some case of πόρος, ἄπορος, or εὐπορος; the traces are compatible with εὐπορον[.]

ἐπὶ τρι-: e.g. ἐπὶ τρι[ετίαν] or, as Rea suggests, ἐπὶ τρι[οῦσαν]. Also possible is some form of ἐπιτρίβω or ἐπιτρίβῃ, on which see P. Turner 41.11 n.

The text poses two problems at the foot, where we have 2 cm blank below 23. (i) There is a trace of ink in the bottom right-hand corner on the edge of the papyrus, 1.5 cm below line 23, which looks like part of a letter. The text cannot have continued for the whole of a second column; indeed it seems to be more or less at an end in lines 23–4 (see below). Is it possible that it was written in two copies (one copy being sent to the prefect and the other retained) and that this trace survives from the second copy? (ii) The judgement given by Laetus could well have ended in the lost part of 24, but one would expect at this point the formal end of the petition, i.e. the ἐπιδέδωκα-clause or equivalent; in SB XIV 12087, for example, after the quotation in a petition to the strategus of a previous petition to the epistrategus and his subscriptio, we have a copy of a trial before a prefect, at the end of which the papyrus has Πτολεμαῖος Διοδώρου (= the petitioner) [ἐπή]νεγκα, followed by the date. There is perhaps room for the equivalent of this (minus the date) in the part now lost. Alternatively, and more probably, the ἐπιδέδωκα-clause may have come at the end of the petition proper, in line 13, and before the quotation of the trial before Laetus. There is no sign of the prefect's subscriptio, but by this date petitions to which the prefect had added his subscriptio were merely posted up for the petitioners to consult; they were no longer returned to the petitioner: see R. Haensch, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 487–546, esp. 499–504 (his Phase IV). At this period, if the petitioner wanted a written record of the prefect's subscriptio, he had to take it down from the original while it was posted up (c.g. XVII 2131). An apparent exception, XLVII 3364 44–6, can be explained as a copy added to the original petition after the prefect's decision was known (see Haensch, 528 n. 13).

J. DAVID THOMAS

## 4594. LEASE OF LAND

34 4B.77/A(3–6)a

7.7 × 12 cm

228

Aurelius Diogenes and Aurelius Plution lease seven aruras at the village of Senao to Aurelius Amois. The lease in standard Oxyrhynchite format (cf. e.g. L **3591** introd.) is for one year and stipulates a rent of fifteen artabas of wheat. A current 8th regnal year is referred to in 6. Palaeographically, the text may be assigned to the earlier third century. The 8th year must then be that of Severus Alexander, 228/9 (year 8 of Gallienus may be excluded, see D. W. Rathbone, *ZPE* 62 (1986) 118 and N. Gonis, *ZPE* 123 (1998) 196); since the document was drawn up prior to the sowing season (see 8), its date must be in the autumn of 228. Oxyrhynchite land leases are listed by J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* 329 ff.; see also **4595** introd.

The back is blank except for some accidental ink marks.

ἐμίσθωσαν Ἀὐρήλιοι Διογένης  
 Cερήνου καὶ Πλουτίων ἀμφότε-  
 ροὶ ἀπ' Ὁξυρύγχων πόλεως  
 Ἀὐρηλίῳ Ἀμόιτι Ἀγαθίνου μητρὸς  
 5 Ταῦσιος ἀπὸ Cεναῶ πρὸς μόνον τὸ  
 ἐνεστὸς η' (ἔτος) τὰς ὑπαρχούσας αὐτοῖς  
 περὶ Cεναῶ ἀρούρας ἑπτὰ ἢ ὄσας ἐὰν  
 ὦσι ὥστε σπύραι πυρῶ ἐκφορίου ἀπο-  
 τάκτου πυροῦ ἀρταβῶν δεκαπέντε,  
 10 ἀκινδύνων παντὸς κινδύνου,  
 τῶν τῆς γῆς δημοσίων ὄντων πρὸς  
 τοὺς μεμισθωκότας κυριεύ-  
 οντας τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τ[ὸν πυ-]  
 ρὸν κομίσωνται. βεβαιουμένης  
 15 δὲ τῆς μισθώσεως ἀποδότω ὁ με-  
 μισθωμένος τῷ μηνὶ Παῦνι τοῦ  
 ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους τὸν πυρὸν [ἐ]φ' ἄ-  
 λω Cεναῶ νέον καθαρὸν [ἄδολον]  
 ἄβωλον ἄκριθον κεκοκικ[ευμέ-]  
 20 νον, μέτρῳ τῷ ἐπάνω Διογέ-  
 νους, τῶν παρὰ τῶν μεμισθ[ω-]  
 [κότων

3 οξύρρυγ'χων? 5 ταῦσιος 6 ς 8 l. σπείραι

'Aurelius Diogenes, son of Serenus, and Aurelius Plution, both from the city of Oxyrhynchus, leased to Aurelius Amois, son of Agathinus, his mother being Taÿsis, from Senao, for the present 8th year only, the seven aruras (or however many they may be) belonging to them near Senao, to sow with wheat, at a fixed rent of fifteen artabas of wheat, free from all risk, the public taxes on the land being the responsibility of the lessors who are to retain control of the crops until they receive the wheat. And the lease being confirmed, the lessee is to pay the wheat in the month Payni of the present year at the threshing floor of Senao, it being new, pure, free from fraud, free from earth, free from barley, sieved, by the measure which is in the possession of Diogenes, the lessors' agents [doing the measuring . . . ]'

5 For the village of Senao, located in the western toparchy of the Oxyrhynchite nome, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchite* 163-4.

8-9 On rent levels see Rowlandson, *op. cit.* 247ff. Fifteen artabas on c. 7 aruras is a very low rent (2.14 art./ar., approximately); see the table for third-century Oxyrhynchite rents in H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten u. Löhne* (1991) 170. A similar level of rental is found in the Arsinoite P. Mich. IX 565, where H. C. Youtie suggested that the land was of poor quality, see *ibid.* 11-12 n. The same rate is found in P. Köln III 149, on which see Rowlandson, *op. cit.* 248, suggesting that readiness on the part of the landlords (two minors, in this instance) to accept a lower proportion of the crop might also explain the low rental.

For ἀποτάκτου cf. Rowlandson, *op. cit.* 241, but the situation there discussed is not the same as here. Further senses of the word are discussed by J. C. Shelton, *ZPE* 86 (1991) 272 with references, A. K. Bowman, *JRS* 66 (1976) 168, N. Lewis, *BASP* 16 (1979) 208-9 and in P. Köln VII 316 introd.

13-14 ἕως τ[ὸν] π[ρὸν] ρόν κομίζονται: cf. XXXVI 2795 16-17. Instead of π[ρὸν], φ[ό]ρον is possible (cf. P. Köln III 149.22-3) but less likely since it usually denotes rent in money, as opposed to ἐκφόριον, rent in kind. For φόρος as rent in kind see also PSI V 468.20-21.

20 ἐπάνω. Not attested elsewhere precisely with a personal name like this. Cf. XVI 1838 2, καὶ μὴ ἕασης τὸν κύτον ἐπάνω τῶν γεωργῶν, translated 'in the hands of'. Elsewhere ἐπάνω may mean 'aforesaid', cf. e.g. L 3595 49. That sense here would require τοῦ preceding, which cannot be read.

22 The clause is likely to have continued τὴν μέτρησιν ποιουμένων (VII 1040 19) or μετρούντων (P. Oxy. Hels. 41.42).

J. L. MCMILLAN

#### 4595. LEASE OF LAND

22 3B.14/G(7-10)a

6.3 × 32.1 cm

15 October 261

First published by J.-L. Calvo Martínez in *Emerita* 40 (1972) 401-5, reprinted as SB XII 11081; this version is the work of N. Gonis. Several features of the text have been commented on by J. Rowlandson in *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (1996), see her 'index of sources' on p. 375.

A consolidated list of Oxyrhynchite land-leases from the first century BC to the end of the fourth century AD is offered in Rowlandson, *op. cit.* 329-52. Add LXVII 4594 (228), LXI 4121 (289/90), LXIII 4379 (369), 4383 (384), 4384 (385).

The writing is along the fibres. Back blank.

ἐμίσθωσεν Αὐρηλία  
 Διονυσία θυγάτηρ Θεώ-  
 νος τοῦ καὶ Διονυσοθέω-  
 νος ἀφῆλιξ δι' Αὐρηλίου  
 5 Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιτρόπου  
 Κλαυδίω Ἀπελλεῖ τῷ καὶ Ἰσι-  
 δώρῳ υἱῷ Ὠρίωνος οὐετρα-  
 νοῦ τῶν ἐντείμως ἀπολε-  
 λυμένων, εἰς ἔτη τέσσερα  
 10 ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος β (ἔτους) ἀπὸ  
 τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῇ περι-  
 σκῶ ἐκ τοῦ Πεδιέως κλήρου  
 βασιλικῆς ἄρουραν μίαν ἡμι-  
 κυ τέταρτον ὥστε κατ' ἔτος  
 15 σπείρει καὶ ξυλαμῆσε οἷς ἐὰν  
 αἰρήται ὁ μεμισθωμένος,  
 φόρου ἀποτάκτου κατ' ἔτος  
 πυροῦ ἄρταβῶν ὀκτῶ ἀκι(ν)-  
 δύνων παντὸς κινδύνου.  
 20 ἐὰν δέ τις τοῖς ἐξῆς ἔτεσι,  
 ὁ μὴ εἶη, ἄβροχος γένηται,  
 παραδεχθήσεται τῷ μεμισ-  
 θωμένῳ, τῶν τῆς γῆς  
 κατ' ἔτος δημοσίων ὄντων(ν)  
 25 πρὸς τὴν γεούχον. κυριευ(έ)τω  
 δὲ τῶν καρπῶν ἕως τὰ κα-  
 τ' ἔτος ὀφιλόμενα ἀπολάβῃ.  
 βεβαιωμένης δὲ τῆς μισ-  
 θώσεως, ἐπάναγκον μετρί-  
 30 τω ὁ μεμισθωμένος τὸν  
 πυρὸν κατ' ἔτος εἰς τὸ δημό-  
 σιον ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκάστου ἔτους  
 πρώτην μέτρησιν καὶ θέ-



μα τούτων καθαρὸν ἀναδό-  
 35 τω τῇ γεούχω, τῆς πράξε-  
 ως οὔσης παρά τε τοῦ με-  
 μισθουμένου ὡς καθήκει.  
 κυρία ἢ μίσθωσις, περὶ ἧς  
 ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὁ μεμι-  
 40 θωμένος ὡμολόγησεν.  
 (ἔτους) β// Ἀυτοκρατόρων  
 Καيسάρων Τίτου Φουλουίου  
 Ἰουνίου Μακριανοῦ καὶ Τίτον'  
 Φουλουίου Ἰουνίου Κυήτου  
 45 Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν  
 Σεβαστῶν, Φαῶφι ιῆ.  
 (m. 2) Κλαύδιος Ἀπελλῆς ὁ καὶ  
 Ἰσίδωρος μεμίσθω-  
 50 μαι τὴν γῆν καὶ ἀποδώ-  
 σω πάντα ὡς πρόκειται[ι]  
 καὶ ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὡμο-  
 λόγησά.

6 κλαυδιω: ω corr. from αν 8 I. ἐντίμως 10 J 13 I. βασιλικῆς 15 I. σπείραι, ξυλαμήσαι  
 18 ακι- 22 I. παραδεχθήσεται 24 οντω- 27 I. ὀφειλόμενα 28 I. βεβαιουμένης  
 29-30 I. μετρέιτω 36-7 I. μεμισθωμένου 41 L

'Aurelia Dionysia, daughter of Theon alias Dionysiotheon, minor, through Aurelius Apollonius, (her) guardian, leased to Claudius Apelles alias Isidorus, son of Horion a veteran (of the class) of those with *honestia missio*, for four years from the present year 2, out of her property near Sko from the *kleros* of Pedieus of royal (land) one and three-quarter aruras to sow and to plant each year whatever the lessee may choose, at the fixed rent of eight artabas of wheat annually, free from all risk. And if any (of the land) in the succeeding years—may it not happen!—be uninundated, an allowance shall be made to the lessee, the annual public taxes on the land being the responsibility of the landowner. And she is to retain control of the crops until she recovers the amounts owed to her each year. And the lease being confirmed, of necessity the lessee shall measure the wheat yearly into the public granary at the first measuring of each year, and shall deposit this amount free of all charges for the credit of the landowner, with the right of execution resting against the lessee in the usual terms. The lease is binding, and the lessee, on being asked the formal question about it, gave his assent.'

'Year 2 of Imperatores Caesares Titus Fulvius Junius Macrianus and Titus Fulvius Junius Quietus Pii Felices Augusti, Phaophi 18.'

(2nd hand) 'I, Claudius Apelles alias Isidorus, have taken the land on lease, and I shall deliver everything as aforesaid, and on being asked the formal question I gave my assent.'

1-2 *Ἀυρηλία Διονυσία*. The minor Aurelia Dionysia and her guardian are to be recognized in the undated PSI XII 1258, addressed by Dionysia's mother τῷ τῆς ὀρφανία[ς τῆς θυγατρ[ός μ]ου Ἀ[υρ]ηλίας Διον[υσία]ς ἐπιτρόπῳ ἀπὸ διαθήκης τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς | Ἀυρηλίῳ Ἀπολλωνίῳ Ἀπολλωνίου μητρὸς Ζωίδος ἀπ' Ὁξ(υρύγχων) πόλεως (lines 5-9); in line 6 a photostat of the papyrus, kindly supplied by Prof. R. Pintaudi, indicates that Διο-υ[υσία]ς should be read in place of the edition's Διογ[ενίδο]ς. Dionysia also appears in a later papyrus, P. Oxy. Hcls. 28.2-3 of 303/4, ὀνόματος Διονυσίας Διονυσοθέωνος; that text indicates that she had a number of employ-ees, cf. LV 3789 introd. (p. 44), which squares with the impression of a woman of property.

2-4 *Θέωνος τοῦ καὶ Διονυσοθέωνος*. In PSI XII 1258.12-14 Dionysia's father is said to be Διονυσοθέων ὁ καὶ | Θεῶν Θεῶνος Ματίδιος ὁ καὶ Καλλιτέκνειος Ἀντινοεύς. It is tempting to identify him with Aurelius Dionysiotheon καὶ ὡς χρηματίζει, ex-gymnasiarch and councillor, who leases out land near Sko in P. Oxy. Hcls. 41, of 223/4. But if we are dealing with the same person, it is disconcerting that there is no reference to any of his offices in 4595, while his Antinoite citizenship credentials are cited fully in PSI 1258. We do of course know of Antinoite citizens who served as councillors at Oxyrhynchus, cf. SB V 7812 (256), XX 14290 (III). At any rate, the Dionysiotheon in P. Oxy. Hcls. 41 may well be the same as the ex-gymnasiarch of P. Hamb. I 19 (225), but is probably not identical with the ex-gymnasiarch Dionysiotheon of X 1278 (214); see P. Laur. IV 156.10 n. It is unclear whether he was related to Aurelius Sarapion alias Dionysiotheon, for whose family see U. Wartenberg, *Proc. XIX Int. Cong. Pap.* (1992) ii. 15-22. PSI Congr. XXI 8.5, of c. 183-4, attests a Dionysiotheon, possibly the son of a Theon (see the editor's note), but he is too early to be identified with Dionysia's father.

4-5 δι' Ἀυρηλίου Ἀπολλωνίου ἐπιτρόπου. Aurelius Apollonius son of Apollonius (his patronymic is given in PSI XII 1258.8, see above 1-2 n.) is a well-known figure; the picture that emerges is that of an intermediary in various transactions. Besides being Dionysia's guardian, he writes on behalf of illiterates in SB VIII 9878.40-45 (259), where he also acts as the *cunctator* of a woman, XXXI 2568 29-37 (264), LVII 3912 36-45 (266?), and 3913 5-12 (c. 265); the hand is the same in all four cases (for SB VIII 9878 see the plate in *JJP* 15 (1965) opp. p. 80). It is difficult to tell whether he is identical with the Aurelius Apollonius who subscribes for an illiterate in XL 2892 i 20-2 (269), since the hand of that man cannot be positively identified as that of the 'son of Apollonius'. He is not necessarily the same as the Apollonius son of Apollonius grandson of Pausirion who appears to have land registered under his name near Peenno in XII 1549 (240). *Ἀυρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀπολλων[ι]* in P. Fuad I Univ. 20 (II) may be the same man. It may also be worth noting that an Apollonius appears as the guardian of the orphan Heracleidiaena in LVIII 3923 1 (III), and possibly XIV 1637 4 (256/7-261), cf. 3923 1-2 n. This capacity would not be out of character for our man. (Ed. pr. suggested an identification with the ex-gymnasiarch, bouleutes and banker Aurelius Apollonius of X 1284 (250), but this is less likely.)

6 *Κλαυδίῳ Ἀπελλεῖ*. This person is not otherwise known.

7-8 *Ὁρίωνος οὐετρανοῦ*. Ed. pr. took *οὐετρανοῦ* as a mistake for *οὐετρανώ*. In consequence, Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants* 263 n. 171 notes the 'unusually high status' of the tenant; in fact, there seems to be only one other instance of a veteran leasing land, SPP XX 70 (Ars.; 261). But it is likely that there is no mistake involved, and as the grammar indicates, it is Apelles' father, Horion, who was the veteran. Compare for example VII 1035 1-3 (143) *Γάιος Οὐετούριος | Γέμελλος υἱὸς Γαῖου Οὐετουρίου Γεμέλλου οὐετρανοῦ*, BGU VII 1658.1-3 (234) *Ἀυρήλιος Σεργῆνος υἱὸς Πουπλίου | οὐετρανοῦ τῶν ἐντίμως ἀπολελυμένων*, or XXXVIII 2855 29 (291) [*Ἀρειαν*]ος υἱὸς Ἀρειανοῦ οὐετρανοῦ.

A veteran Julius Horion occurs in XII 1459 3 (226), but he is probably not the same person, since we would expect the son to have the same *gentilicium* as the father.

12 *Κάω*. On the location of the village see F. Gomaâ, R. Müller-Wollermann, and W. Schenkel, *Mittelägypten zwischen Samalut und dem Gabal Abu Sir* = TAVO B 69 (1991) 74-5.

Πεδιέως κλήρου. This *kleros*, spelled as Παιδιέως, also occurs in VII 1031 15 (228).

25 κυριευ(έ)τω. The subject of the verb, ἡ γεούχος, has been omitted; for a similar omission see e.g. XXII 2351 40f. (112).

33-4 θέμα. This expression is discussed by D. Hagedorn, *ZPE* 25 (1977) 197-8, who interprets it somewhat differently.

36-7 παρά τε τοῦ μεμειθωμένου. For this shortened version of the *praxis* clause (reference to ὑπάρχοντα omitted), see XXXI 2585 18-19 n., P. Mich. XI 610.38 n., LV 3802 21 n. It appears to be mainly attested in the third and fourth centuries, but actually has earlier antecedents: cf. SB XIV 11279.37 (44) ἔκ τε τοῦ μεμειθωμένου; BGU III 910.2.27 (71) ἔκ τε τῶ(ν) δεδανισμέ(νων).

J.-L. CALVO MARTÍNEZ  
N. GONIS

#### 4596. APPRENTICESHIP CONTRACT

17 2B.56/F(a)

9 × 17 cm

27 Nov. - 26 Dec. 264(?)

Aurelius Polydeuces agrees to apprentice his daughter to Aurelius Thonis, a ἰστωνάρχης, for four years to learn the weaving trade. In a recent study in *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 95-167 M. Bergamasco recorded 42 examples of apprenticeship contracts (list on 96-8 and analysis on 162-7; cf. also his n. 30); note that his nos. 6, 22, 27 and 31 should be cited as SB X 10236, XII 10984, VI 9374 and XX 15762 respectively. His no. 21 = SB XII 10946 has been re-edited by Th. Kruse, *ZPE* 111 (1996) 149-58; for his no. 2 = BGU IV 1125 see the article by A. Bélis and D. Delattre in *Pap. Lup.* 2 (1993) 103-62. To his list is to be added P. Kell. I 19a Appendix, which needs to be consulted in the re-edition by Bergamasco in *ZPE* 121 (1998) 193-6 (though note that the key words *πρὸς μάθησιν* in line 11 are restored); see also his article in *Aegyptus* 77 (1997) 7-26.

Bergamasco refers to the voluminous literature on this type of contract in notes 2-6 of his article in *Aegyptus* 75. A. Zambon's pioneering study in *Aegyptus* 15 (1935) 3-66 is still of value. Among more recent work note in particular J. Hengstl, *Private Arbeitsverhältnisse freier Personen in den hellenistischen Papyri bis Diokletian* (1972), 83-97, and, for the Byzantine period, A. Jördens, P. Heid. V, pp. 289-95. See also H. Perdicoyianni-Paleologou, *AC* 68 (1999) 149-69. No fewer than twenty of Bergamasco's examples come from the Oxyrhynchite nome. 4596 follows the normal pattern down to line 16: it is an objective homologia, with clauses stipulating that the apprentice should *παραμένειν* with the weaver and arranging for her maintenance. Lines 16-25, however, include an additional clause in which the father agrees that he has received 400 drachmas from the weaver *ἐν προχρεία*, which he will repay at the end of the period of the apprenticeship.

An advance payment by the master to the parent or guardian of the apprentice is also found in XXXI 2586 30-4, BGU IV 1124, P. Mich. II 121 recto ii 8 and P. Heid. IV 327. Only in P. Heid. 327 is the purpose specified: in lines 13-15 the guardian agrees to have received from the woman to whom the boy is apprenticed τὰς στα[θείας ὑπὲρ μισ]θῶν τοῦ παντός [χρόνου δραχμὰς π] (cf. lines 26-8: τὰς τοῦ μισθοῦ ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς [δγ]δοήκοντα).

This contract therefore makes it clear that the money is an advance payment of the apprentice's wages for the five-year period of the apprenticeship, and is so understood by the editor ('Lohnvorschuss') and by Bergamasco, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 174. Bergamasco suggests that the same is true of the sum of 40 drachmas in P. Mich. 121 recto ii 8, but Hengstl, op. cit. 96-7, is right to insist that we do not know the purpose of this payment. BGU 1124 is equally obscure, and the discussion in Hengstl, loc. cit. (who insists that it is not pay in advance) and in Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 142-3, is inconclusive.

In 2586 19-30 we have detailed arrangements for the apprentice to earn an increasing wage during his apprenticeship. It is certain, therefore, that the sum of 400 drachmas referred to there in lines 30-4 is not payment of wages in advance, even though it is described as *ἐν προχρεία*, an expression which can be used of such a payment (see P. Heid. V, p. 159). The editor regards it as 'a loan [which] was part of the terms of the apprenticeship'. Bergamasco (*Aegyptus* 75, 147) says of it 'è lecito supporre che si trattasse di una cauzione, più che di un prestito, volta a assicurare il padre dell'apprendista circa la correttezza del maestro artigiano'. In this he is apparently following H. J. Wolff, *ZRG* 84 (1967) 414-15, who considered the sum advanced to be 'eine arrhaähnliche Sicherung der Einhaltung des Vertrages durch den Lehrherrn'. As Hengstl, op. cit. 96 n. 101 [where correct 40 dr. to 400 dr.], points out, this suggestion has 'kein Anhaltspunkt'.

In 4596 the sum (400 drachmas as in 2586) is also not wages in advance, since the apprentice is to receive food and clothing in lieu of wages (line 15), though here again it is described as *ἐν προχρεία*. It is probably not significant that in 4596 21 the advance is repayable *ἄνευ τόκου*, whereas 2586 makes no mention of interest, but other differences are more noteworthy. (1) In 2586 maintenance and clothing are the responsibility of the father and the apprentice goes to the master's workshop on a daily basis; in 4596 the apprentice stays with the weaver day and night, and maintenance and clothing are the responsibility of the weaver. (2) There is no equivalent in 2586 to the phrase *εἰς ἀναγκαίας αὐτοῦ χρείας* used in 4596 18-19. (3) The clause in 4596 21-5, *οὐκ ἐξόντος . . . πλήρης*, is not found in 2586. The advance in 4596 thus looks very much like a loan (for *προχρεία* used of loans see P. Heid. V, pp. 276-9 and 283 n. 54), with the father in effect sending his daughter to work for the weaver as security for the loan's repayment. It is true that for four years she will be trained as a weaver, but she is not at liberty to leave at the end of this period unless her father is by then in a position to repay the sum advanced.

This has obvious similarities with some contracts of *παραμονή*, e.g. P. Tebt. II 384 and P. Mich. X 589. The relationship between apprenticeship contracts and contracts of *παραμονή* has been much discussed; for a succinct summary of the conflicting views see Hengstl, op. cit. 96-7. He is inclined to stress the differences, at any rate from a legal point of view, but points out that since both types of document can relate to similar practical circumstances, it is not surprising that they often use much the same language. The situation in 4596 would no doubt have been clearer if the obligations entered into on the part of the weaver and the penalty clauses had been preserved.

The text refers to the current twelfth year. Since the parties are both Aurelii, the reign



can only be Severus Alexander or Gallienus, with the contract to run from 1 Tybi = 27 December 232 or 264. The competent, professional cursive in which the text is written would suit either date, with the later one being slightly preferable. It might be argued that the absence of any arrangements for payment of poll-tax or the tax on weavers supports the later date, but some earlier texts make no mention of such taxes (e.g. IV 725, AD 183). If 4596 does date from 264 it is interesting, but no doubt simply coincidence, that it belongs to the same regnal year as XXXI 2586 (for the correct date see XXXVI, p. 94).

The papyrus is complete at top, left and (for the most part) right, but incomplete at the foot. The ink is often badly rubbed especially towards the right. There are some 18 lines of writing on the back, but the ink is so rubbed and faded as to be illegible.

ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις Αὐρήλιοι Πολυδεύκης  
 Ἀλεξ[άν]δρου μητρὸς Ἀπίας ἀπ' Ὀξυρύχων πό-  
 λεως καὶ Θώνιος Πετεῖος μητρὸς  
 Θαϊκούτος ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἰτω-  
 5 νάρχης ὁ μὲν Πολυδεύκης ἐγδεδο-  
 χθαι τῷ Θώνι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἀφήλικα  
 θυγατέρα Αὐρηλίαν Ἀφροδείτην μητρὸς  
 Διονυσίας πρὸς μάθησιν γερδιακῆς  
 τέχνης ἐπὶ χρόνον ἕτη τέσσαρα ἀπὸ νε-  
 10 ομηγίας τοῦ ἐξῆς μηνὸς Τύβι τοῦ ἐνεστῶ-  
 τος β[ε] (ἔτους), ἐφ' ὃν χρόνον παρέξεται τὴν π[αί]δα  
 ὁ πατήρ παραμένουσαν τῷ Θώνι οὐκ ὄ(ν)-  
 τα αὐτοῦ ἀπόκοιτον οὐδὲ ἀφήμερον γεινό-  
 15 μενον, τρεφομένην καὶ ἱματιζόμενον  
 ἐπὶ τὸν ὅλον χρόνον ἀντὶ μισθῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 Θώνιος ὡς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐστάθη. ὁμ[ο-]  
 λογεί δὲ ὁ Πολυδεύκης ἐσχηκέναι πα[ρά]  
 τοῦ Θώνιος ἐν προχρεία εἰς ἀναγκαί[α]  
 20 αὐτοῦ χρείας ἀργυρίου δραχμὰς τετρακο[σ]ί-  
 ας ἄσπερ μετὰ τὸν τετραετῆ χρόνον ἀποδώ-  
 ρει τῷ Θώνι ἄνευ τόκου, οὐκ [ἐξόντος αὐ-]  
 τῷ ἐντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ἀποσῆ[ν] τὴν θυ-  
 γατέρα αὐτοῦ οὐδὲ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον [   
 πρὶν ἢ ἀποδώ τὰς τοῦ ἀργυρ[ί]ου δ[ραχμὰς]  
 25 [τετρ]ακοσίας πλήρη[ς]. ὁ δὲ Θώνιος . . . [

4 θαϊκούτος 4-5 ἰτω|ναρχης 5-6 l. ἐκδεδο|χθαι 10 μηνός: μ corrected, perhaps from τυ  
 11 § 12-13 ὄτα; l. οἶσαν 13-14 l. γινω|μένην 14 ἱματιζόμενον; l. -νην

'Aurelius Polydeuces son of Alexander(?), mother Apia, from the city of the Oxyrhynchi, and Aurelius Thonis son of Peteuris(?), mother Thaisous, from the same city, superintendent weaver, make an agreement with one another that Polydeuces has handed over to Thonis his under-age daughter Aurelia Aphrodite, mother Dionysia, for the purpose of learning the weaving trade, for a period of four years from the first day of the following month Tybi of the current 12th year; for this period of time her father will see that his daughter abides with Thonis, not spending a night or a day away, being fed and clothed for the whole period by Thonis instead of receiving wages, as has been fixed between them. Polydeuces agrees to have got from Thonis a payment in advance for his own necessary needs of four hundred silver drachmas, which after the four-year period he will repay to Thonis without interest; he is not allowed to take away his daughter within this period nor after the end of this period until he repays the four hundred silver drachmas in full. Thonis [agrees . . .]

2 Ἀλεξ[άν]δρου: reading uncertain, but other personal names beginning Ἀλεξ- are less likely.

3 Πετεῖος: one expects Πετεύριος since Πετεύρις is a common name at Oxyrhynchus, but it is very hard to read the fifth letter as γ.

4-5 ἰτωνάρχης: in apprenticeships to learn weaving the master is usually called simply γέρδιος and ἰτων-  
 νάρχης has not previously occurred in these contracts. The exact function of a ἰτωνάρχης is not clear; possibly he was a superintendent of a group of weavers. See BGU XV 2471.5 n, and to the references given there add O. Willb. 75, introd. In BGU 2471 a ἰτωνάρχης reports the name of his new *συεργός*.

7 The only other certain example of the apprenticing of a daughter is P. Heid. IV 326. The females in P. Aberd. 59 and P. Ross. Georg. II 18.450 could be slaves.

8-9 πρὸς μάθησιν γερδιακῆς τέχνης: the definite article is expected and was perhaps just omitted in error; cf., however, BGU XI 2041.5. The weaving trade is, not surprisingly, the one most often found in apprenticeships, occurring in over half of the known examples. For the weaving industry in Egypt see E. Wipszycka, *L'industrie textile dans l'Égypte romaine* (1965), and M. V. Biscottini, *Aegyptus* 46 (1966) 63-5.

9 A four-year term for learning the weaving trade is also found in XVI 1647. On the variation in the period from one to five years see Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 105 n. 34.

11-14 A clause regulating when the apprentice is to report for work at the master's house is a standard feature of the contracts, see Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 127-8. Apprentices either report for work each day or, as here, live day and night in the master's house. On the latter arrangement see, apart from Bergamasco, loc. cit., A. Zambon, *Aegyptus* 19 (1939) 101-2, and P. Heid. IV 327.9-12 n. In addition to P. Heid. 327 it is found in P. Oslo III 141.9-10, Stud. Pal. XXII 40.16-18 (see *ZPE* 61 (1985) 88-9) and XXXVIII 2875 12-14. The participle of *παραμένειν* at this point in an apprenticeship contract is only found elsewhere in P. Fouad 37.4, XXXVIII 2875 10 and XLI 2977 34 (it is often found at a later point in the clause in which it is stated that the apprentice is to remain with the master after the end of the contract to make up any days he has missed). Its use is non-technical, i.e. it does not imply that we have a *παραμονή* contract (see Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 127-8).

11 The reading at the end of this line is very uncertain, but there seems to be too much ink for just *αὐτήν* after *παρέξεται*.

14-16 On the differing arrangements for feeding and clothing apprentices see Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 137-40.

15 ἀντὶ μισθῶν: arrangements for the payment of wages to apprentices vary appreciably in the existing

contracts. Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 140–50, distinguishes no fewer than seven different types. For agreements in which no payment of a wage is specified see 149–50.

16 *ὡς ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐστάθη*; the same phrase is used in XLIX 3500 9, a marriage contract.

16 ff. On this additional provision see the introduction.

21 *οὐκ* is a very uncertain reading, but it is what we expect at this point.

21 ff. It is normal for the parent/guardian to be denied the right to remove the apprentice during the period of the apprenticeship; see Bergamasco, *Aegyptus* 75, 117–18 and n. 66; but the addition of the provision that the father cannot remove his daughter even after the end of her apprenticeship unless he first pays back the sum advanced is not found in any other contracts of this type.

23 No doubt just a short line, since nothing is expected between *χρόνον* and *πρίν*.

24–5 The reading/restoration at the end of line 24 and the first part of line 25 is very uncertain. *πλήρη*[c], however, looks secure; for its use with *ἀποδίδωμι* cf., e.g., CPR X 107a.27–8.

The text will have gone on to detail the obligations of the master, in particular that he will guarantee that the apprentice is fully trained by the end of the period.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4597. CONTRACT FOR SUBSTITUTION IN A LITURGY

37 4B.105/B(2–3)b

18 × 25 cm

19 November 294

Aurelius Ptoleminus alias Sarmates, exegetes, councillor and *ἀναπομπὸς ἀχύρου* of Oxyrhynchus, hires Aurelius Demetrammon son of Patermuthius to fill his place in collecting and delivering chaff for cavalry stationed in the Thebaid. Comparable contracts for substitutes and other persons to carry out liturgical obligations include W. *Ch.* 263, 276, 405; P. Leit. 13, P. Mich. XI 604, P. Cair. Isid. 80–82, PSI VIII 873, IX 1037, BGU I 286, P. Fay. 34, and XIV 1626, XXXVI 2769, XXXVIII 2859, XLIII 3095, LI 3622, and LV 3796.

Ptoleminus alias Sarmates was previously known from VI 891 8 (294) and I 43 recto iv 7–8, v 5–6 (1 and 14 February 295). See LXIII 4383 4 n. where the documentation probably all relating to a single Oxyrhynchite family is gathered. The two passages cited from I 43 are from receipts issued to Ptoleminus (wrongly given as Sarmates alias Ptoleminus in 4383 4 n.) for chaff delivered by him in the capacity of *ἐπιμελητῆς ἀχύρου* a few months after 4597 was drawn up; no mention is made of Demetrammon, not surprisingly since this was a private arrangement and as far as the military authorities were concerned Ptoleminus remained responsible, cf. 22. Ptoleminus as *ἐπιμελητῆς* in 43 had three colleagues, but as *ἀναπομπὸς* in 4597 only one (5, 9). Nevertheless, P. Rain. Cent. 83.5, *ἐπιμελητῆς ἦτοι ἀναπομπὸς*, see n., indicates that the posts of *ἐπιμελητῆς ἀχύρου* and *ἀναπομπὸς ἀχύρου* will have been identical. See further N. Lewis, *Compulsory Public Services*<sup>2</sup> 25–6.

It is possible that the shipment of chaff foreseen in 4597 was not routine but connected with troops sent to Egypt shortly before to settle unrest in the province: on the military occupation in this period see A. K. Bowman, *BASP* 15 (1978) 25–38. The many deliveries of chaff mentioned in P. Beatty Panop. 1 (cf. Index XIV s.v. *ἄχυρον*) were likewise extraordinary, connected with an impending imperial visit.

Written along the fibres; there is a kollesis a quarter of the way along the lines (after πτολ in 14). The back is blank.

ὑπα[τ]ε[ρίας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κων]ς[τα]ντινίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν  
[ἐπιφανεστάτ]ων Καί[σάρ]ων.  
Αὐρήλιοι Π[τολεμῖνος ὁ καὶ Καρ]μάτης ἐξηγη[τῆ]ς βουλ[ευτῆς] τῆς  
λαμ[πράς] καὶ λαμ[προτάτης] Ὁξυρυγχ[ιτῶν]  
πόλεως καὶ [Δημητράμμω]ν Πατερμουθ[ίου] μη[τρὸς] Ἀριστοῦτος ἀπὸ  
τῆς αὐτῆς  
5 πόλεως ὁ[μ]ολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοισ ὁ μὲν Πτολεμῖνος ὁ καὶ Καρμάτης  
ἀναπομπὸς ἀχύρου ἅμα ἐτέρω  
συνηλλα[χέναι τὴν κατ' αὐ]τὸν χώραν [τ]ῷ Δημητράμμωνι τῆς τοῦ  
ἀχύρου  
παραλήμ[ψεως καὶ ἀνακομι]δῆς ἐπὶ τὴν [Θ]ηβαΐδα καὶ διάδοσιν  
ἐκείσαι τοῖς  
τῶν γεν[ναιοτάτων στρατι]ωτῶν ἵππο[ις, ὁ] δὲ Δημητράμμων ἀποπληρώ-  
σιν ἀμ[έ]μπτως τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ Πτολεμῖν[ου τ]οῦ καὶ Καρμάτου χώραν  
τῆς δεδη-  
10 λωμέν[ης παραλήμ]ψεως καὶ ἀνακομιδ[ῆς κ]αὶ διαδόσεως τοῦ ἀχοῖρου  
μετὰ πά-  
σης π[ί]στεως καὶ ἐπιμελεί[ας] ὀψωνί[ο]υ μ[η]νι[αίου] τῶν συμπεφωνημένων  
πρὸς ἀλ[λῆλους κατὰ μῆ]να ἕκαστον ἀ[ργ]υρίου δραχμῶν  
τετρακιςχειλίων·  
ἐντεῦ[θεν] ἐ[ν δ]ὲ ὁμολο[γεῖ ὁ] Δημητράμμων ἐσχηκέναι καὶ πεπληρώ-  
σθαι παρὰ τοῦ Πτολεμῖν[ου τοῦ] καὶ Καρμάτ[ο]υ μηνὸς ἑνὸς ἀργυρίου  
δραχμῶν  
15 τετρακις[χ]ιλίων κ[αὶ τῶ]ν λοιπῶν ἐ[σομ]ένων μηνῶν ἄχρι τῆς παρα-  
δόσεως ἀπολήμψεσ[θ]αὶ καλάρια ὡς [ἐπὶ] ἑκάστῳ μηνὶ δεδῆλωται, ἔτι τε  
καὶ ὑπὲρ ὄλ[ο]υ τ[ο]ῦ χρόνου ἐκτάκτων οἴνο[υ κε]ράμια τρία καὶ ὄξους  
κεράμιον ἑν  
καὶ ἄρτων ἀρτάβας δύο, ἄ[π]ερ καὶ αὐτὰ ὁμ[ολο]γεῖ ἀπεσχηκέναι·  
ἀμφότεροι δὲ  
εὐδοκεῖν ἐπὶ τούτοις καὶ ὁ μὲν Πτολ[εμῖ]νος ὁ καὶ Καρμάτης  
ἀποδώσιν τῷ(ν)  
20 ἐσομένων μηνῶν τὰ λοιπὰ καλάρια, ὁ δὲ Δημητράμμων ἀποπληρώσιν  
τὴν χρεῖαν καὶ ἄποχα γραμμάτια ἐποίει[ν τῆς] παραδόσεω[ς], τῶν

ἐσομ[έ]ν[ων]

ἐνδεημ[ά]των ὄντων πρὸς τὸν Π[τολεμῖνον τὸν] καὶ Καρ[μάτην].  
 κύριον τὸ ὁμολόγημα διςδὸν γραφὲν [πρὸς τὸ ἐκάτερον] μέρος ἔχει μονα-  
 χὸν καὶ ἐπερωτήσαντες ἀλλήλους ἀλλ[ήλοισι ὁμολόγ]ησαν.  
 25 (ἔτους) ια' καὶ ι" [τ]ῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Διοκ[λητιανοῦ] καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ  
 Σεβαστῶν  
 καὶ (ἔτους) γ// τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κων[σταντ]ίου καὶ Μαξιμιανοῦ τῶν  
 2 ἐπιφανεστάτων [Κ]αϊσάρων Σε[βαστ]ῶν, Ἀθῦρ κγ̄.  
 (m. 2) Αὐρή[λ]ιος [Π]τολεμεῖ[νος ὁ] καὶ Καρμάτ[ης εὐδ]οκῶ πᾶσαι τοῖς  
 προκειμένοις  
 καὶ [.] .ε[ c. 4 ] .σομ[ c. 4 ] .[.] .[ c. 6 ] τῆς δ[ι]α[δόσεως] ἐπὶ τῆν Θη-  
 30 βαῖ[δα ]

3 βου<sup>λ</sup> λαμ<sup>ς</sup> twice οξυρυγ<sup>χ</sup> 4 μη<sup>7</sup> 5 First ε of ἐτέρω corr. from τ 7 θηβαῖδα  
 1. διαδόσεως ἐκέισε 8 ἵπποις 8-9 1. ἀποπληρώσειν 10 1. ἀχύρου 12 1. τετρακιςχιλίων  
 15 1. ἄχρι 17 ὑπερ 19 1. ἀποδώσειν τω<sup>-</sup> 20 1. ἀποπληρώσειν 21 1. ἐποίησεν  
 25, 26 L 28 1. Πτολεμῖνος, πάσι, προκειμένοις 29-30 θηβαῖδα

'In the consulship of our lords Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars.  
 'Aurelius Ptoleminus alias Sarmates, exegetes, councillor of the illustrious and most  
 illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, and Aurelius Demetrammon son of Paternuthius, his  
 mother being Aristous, from the same city, [acknowledge to each other], Ptoleminus alias  
 Sarmates, conveyor of chaff, with another person, that he has contracted to Demetram-  
 mon his post for the collection of the chaff and its conveyance up to the Thebaid and its  
 distribution there to the horses of the most noble soldiers, and Demetrammon that he will  
 blamelessly fulfil the post for Ptoleminus alias Sarmates for the aforesaid collection and  
 conveyance and distribution of the chaff with all good faith and diligence(?) at a monthly  
 salary of the mutually agreed four thousand drachmas of silver each month; from this  
 (sum) Demetrammon acknowledges that he has received and been paid in full by Ptolemi-  
 nus alias Sarmates for one month (the salary) of four thousand drachmas of silver, and  
 that for the remaining future months up till the delivery he will receive his salary as has  
 been stated for each month, and further and as special payments for the whole period three  
 keramia of wine and one keramion of vinegar and two artabas of bread, which also he  
 acknowledges he has received. Both parties (acknowledge that they) consent on these terms,  
 and Ptoleminus alias Sarmates that he will pay the remaining salary for the future months,  
 and Demetrammon that he will fulfil the charge and bring back written receipts for the de-  
 livery; any deficits that there shall be being the responsibility of Ptoleminus alias Sarmates.  
 The agreement is normative, written in duplicate so that each party may have one copy,  
 and having asked each other the formal question they so declared to each other.

'Year 11 and 10 of our lords Diocletianus and Maximianus Augusti and year 3 of our  
 lords Constantius and Maximianus the most noble Caesars Augusti, Hathyr 23.'  
 (2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Ptoleminus alias Sarmates, consent to all the aforesaid, and . . .  
 the distribution(?) to the Thebaid . . .'

3 For Ptoleminus alias Sarmates see introd.

4 [Ἀημητράμμω]ν. Cf. 6 etc. Not in *Namenbuch* or *Onomasticon*. On names in -αμμων see F. Dunand, *Chr. d'Ég.*  
 38 (1963) 134 ff.

5 There is not room to restore δ[μολογοῦσιν] here, even if unexpectedly abbreviated ομο<sup>λ</sup>. We insert the  
 phrase here in the transcript for the sake of sense, on the basis of an error by homoioarcton. However, most Oxy-  
 rhynchite texts of this nature have ὁμολογοῦσιν ἀλλήλοισι NN(1) καὶ NN(2), ὁ μὲν NN(1) κυνηλαχένοι τῶ NN(2),  
 and it may well be that the scribe thought that he had so begun here.

ἀναπομπὸς ἀχύρου. Cf. introd.

6 τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν χώραν. Cf. P. Lcit. 13.9.

11 καὶ ἐπιμελεία? The c is very uncertain.

After ὀφων[ί]ο]ν, μ[η]ν[α]ίου is a possible reading but it does not obviously add anything to κατὰ μῆ]να ἕκαστον  
 in 12. PSI IX 1037.16-7, ὑπὲρ χαλαρίων ἢ[τοι ὑπὲρ μισθοῦ], might suggest ὀφων[ί]ο]ν ἢ [καλα]ρίων. If μ[η]ν[α]ίου  
 is correct, the point of the following κατὰ μῆ]να ἕκαστον might be to say that the salary was not only to be reck-  
 oned as a monthly rate but to be paid each month, as opposed e.g. to quarterly payments, but it could be simply  
 tautological.

21-2 It is remarkable that Ptoleminus is required to make up deficiencies in the chaff collection himself:  
 generally, liturgical substitutes were obliged to guarantee that their employers would not be troubled with matters  
 arising from the liturgy, e.g. W. Chr. 405, XIV 1626, XXXVIII 2859. Cf. introd.

27 Σε[βαστ]ῶν. The same addition to the Caesars' titles in e.g. P. Lips. 4.4, 5.12, I 43 recto iii 18. See R. S.  
 Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Regnal Formulas in Byzantine Egypt* 9 ff.

28 Since there were two copies (23) and Ptoleminus' subscription is here, presumably this was Demetram-  
 mon's copy.

29 τῆς δ[ι]α[δόσεως] is no more than a guess, the c-α ductus being particularly dubious.

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 R. A. COLES

#### 4598-4605. OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE AND RECEIPTS FOR MONEY AND COMMODITIES SUPPLIED TO PELUSIUM

119/78, 80, 87-9

Max. height 28 cm

361

Five somewhat shredded pieces preserve parts of eight items from a composite roll  
 of copies of official correspondence and receipts relating to various *annona* and other sup-  
 plies to Pelusium. A separate publication number is assigned to each of the eight partly  
 separated, partly physically connected items. The numbers follow the order of the pieces  
 in the roll, left to right, as I believe I have established it. This is not the chronological order  
 of the original documents.

The copies can be divided into two groups, 4598-4601 and 4602-5 (but for 4605  
 see below). 4598 and 4602 are letters to the Oxyrhynchite strategus from an Oxyrhyn-  
 chite official, attaching accounts of what was delivered (announced but omitted following

**4602**) and then copies of the separate receipts given to him by the Pelusium officials. Each group (excepting **4605**) stands on what was once a continuous stretch of papyrus; the two stretches were then joined, the kollesis coming between **4601** and **4602**. Surprisingly, this is a three-layer kollesis, see **4601** introd.; the vertical fibres of the upper layer have been omitted or stripped for 2 cm.

The strategus is Septimius Apollonius, who has not been attested before. The name is clear in **4602**, less clear in **4598**. The identity of his closest attested predecessor four years earlier is unclear, see G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 106. His successor is likely to have been C. Julius Leucadius, also first attested as strategus in documents in this volume and in office from the second half of 362; see **4608** below. Leucadius is currently the last strategus of Oxyrhynchus to be known by name. An Oxyrhynchite strategus is attested in LXIII **4380** of 369, but the name is lost. Septimius Apollonius' attested period in office may be stated as 10 July 361 (**4598**) until some time in October/November 361 (**4602**).

The first of the strategus' correspondents here is Aurelius Eutrygius, son of Leucadius. He is addressed by the Pelusium officials as *πολιτευόμενος* of the city of the Oxyrhynchites (**4600**), but styles himself as ex-magistrate, councillor, and praepositus of the 10th pagus (**4598**; cf. **4599** 9). He has not been attested previously; he is not to be identified with the former *curator civitatis* Flavius Eutrygius, for whom see P. Oxy. LIV Appendix I, p. 229. Nor are there any grounds at present for identifying his father with either the logistes or the prytanis in 325, see P. Oxy. LIV p. 225.

The second of the strategus' correspondents is Aurelius Heraclius, son of Heraclius. He styles himself *πρόεδρος*, **4602**, and this title is used by the Pelusium officials, **4603–4**, but earlier in the same year he is styled prytanis by a different Pelusium official, **4605**. For the apparent equivalence of these titles see A. K. Bowman, *Town Councils of Roman Egypt* 157. No Oxyrhynchite prytanis of this name was known, see the list in Bowman, op. cit. 134, 137, nor under the name Claudius Heraclius, which is how Heraclius signs himself (in a large, difficult script) in **4602** 9. This is an extraordinary subscription. It is both the change of name, and its very presence in a different hand in this roll of copy documents, that surprise us. No doubt Heraclius in his official capacity could have access to these official papers, and may have resented the scribe's attribution to him of the gentilicium Aurelius, but there is another possible reason for this autograph subscription. Two sets of copies are mentioned as following **4602**: copies of the receipts issued to Heraclius (line 5), and the accounts of delivery (lines 5–7, *ὡν παραδέδωκα . . . ὡς ἐξῆς δηλοῦται*). These accounts are not present. They would have been introduced by *εἰς δέ*, 8, but (except for the subscription) the sheet is blank below, and the scanty remains of the next item (**4603**) are sufficient to show that this was something else. Were these accounts likewise lacking in the original document submitted to the strategus, and in consequence was the original document without Heraclius' subscription? This would be odd, but it may be that he added his autograph subscription to the copy, by request, in verification; and that he took this opportunity to impose his preferred form of his name.

One should consider the possibility of identity with the Oxyrhynchite strategus of 342, see Bastianini and Whitehorne, op. cit. 105 (the date should read 1.3.342), given what we now know about theoretically surprising sequences of appointments in the mid-fourth century (see LX **4086**, **4089**). Since LXII **4344** has shown that Claudius Heraclius, strategus, was the son of a Heraclius, this possibility becomes more likely.

In **4598** Aurelius Eutrygius reports the delivery to Pelusium of 3086 lbs. of pork and (as corrected) 92,200 lbs. (approximately 30 metric tons) of chaff. The receipt for the pork (**4600**) comes from a councillor of Pelusium who is also [*?ἐπιμελητῆς ἀννωνῶν*].

The deliveries announced by Heraclius in **4602** were diverse, with two and perhaps three receipts appended if I have reassembled the roll correctly. **4603** is too fragmentary to reveal what was delivered (indeed, it is largely by analogy that we may classify it as a receipt, while **4604** 1 is a further pointer). **4604** is a receipt for 4 lbs. or more of gold, in payment of the tax called *aurum tironicum* and probably for at least one other tax, its identity lost in lacuna. **4605** is a receipt for a large quantity of denarii, with another occurrence of the puzzling term *μονάς*, to meet the freight charges of flat-bottomed boats (6–7 n.).

Pelusium is described as *ἡ Πηλουσιωτῶν μητρόπολις*, **4600** 3, as it is in the later P. Mich. XVIII 795, and is sometimes given the epithet *λαμπροτάτη* (**4602** 6, **4604** 3). **4600–1** and **4605** now show that it had its own *βουλευταί*. At this date it may already have been the *μητρόπολις* of the province of Augustamnica (so B. Palme, *Ant. Tard.* 6 (1998) 126 n. 15); it was certainly the *μητρόπολις* of Augustamnica I after the division in c. 381–2, see L **3576** with 10–12 n. See also A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* iv. 120; H. Gauthier, *Les nomes d'Égypte*, esp. 171.

The motive for these payments to Pelusium remains unclear. We might have expected payment for *aurum tironicum* (**4604**) to be destined for Alexandria, and indeed the destination of the denarii in **4605** is connected with Alexandria in an unclear way. A rapid summary of the imperial situation may illuminate these commodity movements. Constantius II was Augustus, early in 361 engaged in a campaign against the Persians. Julian was still recognised only as Caesar in the East, as is clear in **4598** and **4606**; in the West, where he was in person, the army in Gaul had proclaimed him Augustus in 360 (D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*<sup>2</sup> 323). By summer 361, imperial diplomacy was turning into imperial conflict. The Persians were withdrawing from the frontier area and Constantius was able to return to Antioch and begin co-ordinating troops and supplies for a campaign against Julian. To this end, Pelusium was closer to him in Antioch and therefore perhaps more easily controlled, and it would have been advantageous to change the normal routine of the transportation of grain and other commodities. In November 361 Constantius II was dead, the crisis was over, and in **4608** below of 362 the imperial oath is by Julianus Augustus and the goods are shipped once more to Alexandria.

The five surviving pieces are now separated by substantial gaps, in each of which there must have been a sheet-join, so excluding the possibility of fibre comparisons between the pieces. Nevertheless the way in which the texts are spread across the pieces helps to ensure continuity. Only **4605** is completely independent. **4598–4604** are written in the

same good upright hand, except for the peculiar autograph subscription to **4602**. **4605** is in a different and less formal script. Possibly it does not properly belong to the sequence; its June date looks out of place with the dates (October–November where preserved) in **4602–4**, and the recorded delivery to Alexandria (but this is acknowledged by a Pelusiot) is at odds with the Pelusium delivery indicated for the group by **4602** 6. Aurelius Heraclius is consistently πρόεδρος in **4602–4**, but addressed as πρύτανις in **4605**. Also **4605** refers to (arrears from) the fourth indiction whereas the others relate to the current fifth indiction (see **4605** 7 n.). On the other hand, the content is closely parallel, the docket (**4605** 1) appropriate, the layout similar, the addressee the same as in **4604**, the inventory number close, and the dimensions and general physical condition of the piece with **4605** are much like those of the other pieces.

Since the hand, **4605** and the **4602** subscription apart, is otherwise the same for the two groups of texts, sent in by different officials, these are not likely to be copies made by those officials; both groups must be copies made in the strategus' bureau. This makes the **4602** subscription all the more extraordinary.

The horizontal measurements throughout the sequence are only approximate, because of the shredded state of the sides of the pieces. The measurements given for **4598** are those of the sheet which also includes **4599**. Furthermore, no measurements are given for **4601** and **4603** because their line beginnings and ends, all that survives, form part of the areas of which the measurements are given under **4600**, **4602**, and **4604**. Only for the piece with **4605** can independent measurements be given.

As well as the join referred to earlier between the document sequences **4598–4601** and **4602** ff., which is on inv. 119/87 between its first and second columns, each of the five pieces of papyrus exhibits one manufacturer's sheet join. Given the substantial gaps between the pieces, each of which must have contained a further join, it is nowhere possible to establish the manufacturer's kollema widths.

The backs of all the pieces are blank.

#### 4598. DECLARATION OF DELIVERY OF PORK AND CHAFF TO PELUSIUM

119/89 col. i

22 × 28 cm

10 July 361

Aurelius Eutrygius declares on oath to Septimius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, that he has delivered stated quantities of pork and chaff to Pelusium. There is a deep margin below; then the account of the collection of the commodities that were delivered (**4599**) follows immediately to the right, on the same sheet in the same hand.

Where was Eutrygius' subscription? Cf. **4611**, which starts its second column with ἔστι δέ, and finishes with ὑπατείας τῆς προκειμένης; there the subscriptions must have been at the foot of col. i (lost). Cf. 15 n. below.

I have ignored a lot of scattered ink traces from the mostly lost left side of the document. These survive over an area of shredded and dislocated fibres, and are rarely

identifiable as particular letters. Moreover, the alignment of these traces is not always certain, so that their presence is often of very little help.

[ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ] Φλ[ω]ρηγίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων),  
Ἐπειφ ις.

[Cεπι]μ[ι] [ω] Ἀπ[ολλων]ίω στρατηγῷ Ὁξυρυγίτου  
[παρὰ Αὐρή]λίου [Εὐ]τρυγί[ου Λευ]καδίου ἄρξ(αντος) βουλ(ευτοῦ)  
πραι(ποσίτου) ις πάγου  
[τοῦ Ὁξυρυ]γγί(του). [ὁμολογῶ ὁμνὺς τὸν σεβά]ζμιον θεῖον ὄρκον τῶν  
δεσποτῶν

5 [ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου αἰωνίου] Ἀγούστου καὶ Ἰουλιανοῦ  
[τοῦ ἀνδρειοτάτου καὶ ἐπιφανε]στᾶτου Καίσαρος παραδεδω-  
[κέναι c. 6 ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπροτ]ᾶτης Πηλουσιωτῶν  
[μητροπόλεως(?) c. 15 τῆ]ς εὐτυχούς πέμπτης  
[ἰνδικτίονος c. 4 κρέ]ως χ[ο]ρ[ι]οῦ λίτρας τριεχιλίας  
10 [ὄγδοῦ]κο[ν]τα ἕξ [κ]αὶ ἄ[χ]ύρου λιτρῶν μυριάδων  
[ἐννέα καὶ διεχιλί]ας διακοσίας, (γίνονται) κρ(έως) λί(τραι) Ἰπς  
[ἀχ(ύρου) λί(τραι) ἠ θ' Βς,] ἀκολουθῶς ταῖς ἐκδοθείσαις μοι  
[ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποχαῖς ὡς ἐξ]ῆς ὑποτέτακται ἅ καὶ διατέλλω  
[ c. 19 ] . . . καὶ μηδὲν διεψεῦσθαι  
15 [ c. 24 ] . . .

1 λαμζ'' 3 ἀρξ'βουλπραι' 4 οξυρυγγίς 5 ἰουλιανου 9 l. χοιρείου 10 l. μυριάδας  
11 / κρ'λ 12 l. ἐκδοθείσαις

'In the consulship of Flavii Taurus and Florentius, *viri clarissimi*, Epeiph 16.

'To Septimius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Eutrygius son of Leucadius, former magistrate, councillor, *praepositus* of the 10th pagus of the Oxyrhynchite. I acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath of our masters Constantius, eternal Augustus, and Julianus the most valiant and most noble Caesar that I have delivered . . . in the most illustrious metropolis(?) of the Pelusiot . . . for the auspicious fifth indiction . . . three thousand and eighty-six pounds of pork and ninety-two thousand two hundred pounds of chaff, total 3086 lbs. meat, 92,200 lbs. chaff, in accordance with the receipts issued to me by them as subjoined following, which also I will transfer . . . not to have lied . . .'

4–6 For imperial oath formulas see K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 45 (1982) 199–223. Worp does not record this version, which is restored following the consular formula preserved in **LI 3622** of 356.

10 μυριάδων. Correct to μυριάδας. The quantity of chaff is also recorded in **4601** 10–11; the transcribed text is an amalgamation of the data in both passages, only importing this correction. The change seems essential,

as otherwise the quantity of chaff might amount to over nine myriads of myriads of litrai (supposing *μυριάδων* in **4601** 10, and squeezing *μυριάδας* in at the beginning of **4598** 11), a quantity of the order of 300,000 metric tons! The amount as corrected is roughly equivalent to 30 metric tons, a more manageable quantity. 3086 lbs. of meat were supplied, see 9–10 and 11 and **4600** 8. This is not the meat:chaff ratio of 1:40 attested by the *mansio* accounts LX **4087–8**, but is close to 1:30. There may be no significance in this; the amounts in our texts may not represent total deliveries, nor would it have been essential that a final ration ratio should have been rigidly maintained by individual suppliers. Indeed, residual stocks in the *mansiones* did not preserve rigid ratios between commodities, nor (because of uneven numbers of men and animals) do the accounts of rations issued; see **4087** 79–83.

13 For *ὡς ἐξῆς ὑποτέτακται* cf. P. Cair. Isid. 11.9.

15 A few scattered traces survive on shredded fibres to the left of transcribed ] . . . , cf. introd. The remains are too scanty to establish whether this was a continuation of the text in 14, or whether the otherwise absent subscription of Aurelius Eutrygius might lurk here.

R. A. COLES

#### 4599. ACCOUNT OF PORK AND CHAFF

119/89 col. ii

Account of pork and chaff, which Aurelius Eutrygius appends to his sworn declaration to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite (**4598**) that he has delivered these commodities to Pelusium. Strictly, these are the accounts of the collection of the commodities, *παράληψις*, cf. LX **4089**. Details of the provenance of the commodities—metropolitans or villagers—and the mechanism of their collection, as detailed in these accounts, would hardly concern the recipients in Pelusium. However, it appears that these accounts doubled as a statement of what was delivered, and no doubt they helped the authorities to keep track of different consignments and maintain quality control.

	ἔστι δ[έ]	
	κρέως ὑποστάσεως [ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ	λί(τραι) Ὑπ[ε]
	οὕτως·	
	εἰς ἵνδικτίονος	
5	πολ(ιτῶν)	
	Εὐτρύγιος Λευκαδίου [	λί(τραι) - - ]
	Φλ(άουιος) Σεουηριανὸς δουκην[άριος	λί(τραι) - - ]
	κωμητῶν ὁμοίως	
	εἰς πάγου δι(ὰ) Εὐτρυγίου πρ[α]ί[ποσίτου	λί(τραι) - - ]
10	(γίνονται) αἱ προκ(είμεναι).	
	ἀχύρου ὁμοίως ὑποστάσεως [ε ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ	λί(τραι) Ἰ θ Βς]
	οὕτως·	
	π[ολ](ιτῶν) Εὐτρύγιος Λευκ[αδίου	λί(τραι) - - ]

	Φλ(άουιος) Σεουηριανὸς [δουκηνάριος	λί(τραι) - - ]
15	κωμητῶν ὁμοίως	
	εἰς πάγου δι(ὰ) Εὐτρυγίου πραιοσίτου	λί(τραι) - - ]
	(γίνονται) αἱ προκ(είμεναι).	
	5 πολ' 7 φλ' 9 δι' 10 / προκ' 13 πολ' 14 φλ' 16 δι'	
17 /	προκ'	

'As follows:

'Meat, assessed on property, [altogether 3086 lbs.]

'Thus:

'5th indiction:

'Metropolitans:

'Eutrygius son of Leucadius [x lbs.]

'Flavius Severianus, *ducenarius* [x lbs.]

'Villagers likewise:

'10th pagus, through Eutrygius, *praepositus* [x lbs.]

'Total the aforesaid.

'Chaff likewise, assessed on property, [altogether 92,200 lbs.]

'Thus:

'Metropolitans: Eutrygius son of Leucadius [x lbs.]

'Flavius Severianus, [*ducenarius* x lbs.]

'Villagers likewise:

'10th pagus, through Eutrygius, [*praepositus* x lbs.]

'Total the aforesaid.'

1 The traces are minimal, but for the presence here of these words cf. **4611** col. ii 1.

2 *ὑποστάσεως*. Cf. 11. I have found no precise parallels for this usage, apart from **4607** i 10–11, **4611** ii 2, and **4612** ii 2 below. PSI VII 779 uses the word in a similar sense. The expression *τῆς ἐμῆς ὑποστάσεως*, 'at the risk of my property', occurs frequently in contracts, cf. e.g. LXVI **4536** 29.

6 Eutrygius son of Leucadius (recurring in 13) is the same person as Eutrygius the *praepositus* (9, 16), cf. **4598** 3. It may be that both he and Flavius Severianus here (7, 14) are functioning as agents in the meat and chaff collection, not themselves as contributors; cf. LX **4089** 33 and introd. This function is made explicit for Eutrygius in respect of the villagers' contributions by the use of *δι(ὰ)*, 9 and 16. Doubt, nevertheless, is thrown on this interpretation of the metropolitan contributions by the number of Flavii and officials, seemingly interspersed at random among citizens not so distinguished, in the much longer but similar list **4607** below; it may be that their often higher contributions are simply a consequence of their status. On the other hand, the repeated pairing of Flavius Crescentius and Macrobius (LX **4089** 33; **4607** iii 6–7) seems to hint at an official capacity.

7 By this date *ducenarii* were low-grade army officers; see Jones, *LRE* ii. 634; cf. LXIII **4381** 2 n.

R. A. COLES



## 4600. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF PORK

119/88 col. i

22 x 28 cm

14 June 361

This is the first of two receipts, copies of which Aurelius Eutrygius sets out following his declaration to the Oxyrhynchite strategus (4598) and the relevant accounts (4599). Here, a councillor of Pelusium who is also [?ἐπιμελητ]ῆς ἀννωνῶν acknowledges receipt of 3086 lbs. of pork (κρέως χοιρείου, 4598 g). At the right edge of this piece of papyrus are the line beginnings of the second receipt published below as 4601.

ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὸ ἴσον τῶν ἀποχ[ῶν].

[ὕπατε]ας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Παῦνι κ.  
[Αὐρήλ]ιος Ἰέραξ Καπρίωνος βουλ(ευτῆς) τῆς Πηλουσιωτῶν μητροπόλεως  
[?ἐπιμελητ]ῆς ἀννωνῶν δι(ὰ) ἐμοῦ Αὐρηλίου Κλήμ(η) Κλήμεντος  
βουλ(ευτοῦ)

5 [τῆς αὐτῆς] πόλεως Αὐρηλίω Εὐτρυνγίω Λευκαδίου πολιτευομένω  
[τῆς Ὁ]ξυρρυχιτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὑπε[δ]εξάμην παρὰ σοῦ  
[ὑπὲρ τῆς] ὑμέτερας κτήσεως τῆς εὐτυχοῦς πέμπτης  
[ἰνδι]κτίονος κρέως λίτρας τριχιλίας ὀγδοήκοντα ἕξ, (γίνονται)  
λί(τραι) ἸΓπς''

10 μόνας ἕκ πλήρους, ἃς καὶ λημματίω διὰ τῶν μηνιέων μου λόγων,  
καὶ ἐξεδόμην σοι τήνδε τὴν ἀποχὴν πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν, ἐσχηκῶς παρὰ σοῦ  
τὸ ἀντάποχον, ἣτις κυρία ἔστω πανταχοῦ ἐπιφερομένη,  
[καὶ] ἐπερωτηθεὶς ὠμολόγησα. Αὐρήλιος Ἰέραξ Καπρίωνος  
[βου]λ[ευ]τῆς τῆς Πηλουσιωτῶν πόλεως δι' ἐμοῦ Αὐ[ρη]λίου Κλήμη  
[Κλήμεν]τος βουλ(ευτοῦ) τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως ἐξεδόμην τὴν ἀποχὴν  
15 [τῶ]ν τοῦ κρέως λιτρῶν τριχιλίων ὀγδοήκοντα ἕξ μόνων,  
[(γίνονται) λί(τραι) ἸΓ]πς, ἐσχηκῶς τὸ ἀντάποχον ὡς πρόκειται.

1 ἴσον 2 φλαουίων 3 ἰεραξ βουλ' 4 δι' κλημς βουλ' 8 /λ 9 1. μηνιαίων  
10 1. ἀσφάλειαν 12 ἰεραξ 14 βουλ' 16 1. πρόκειται

And the copy of the receipts as follows:

In the consulship of Flavii Taurus and Florentius, *viri clarissimi*, Payni 20.

Aurelius Hierax son of Saprion, councillor of the metropolis of the Pelusiots, overseer(?) of the annona, through me Aurelius Clemens son of Clemens councillor of the same city, to Aurelius Eutrygius son of Leucadius, *curialis* of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I have received from you, to the account of your territory for the auspicious fifth indiction, three thousand and eighty-six pounds of meat, total 3086 lbs. only and in full,

## 4600. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF PORK

which also I will record as received through my monthly accounts, and having obtained from you the counter-receipt I have issued to you this receipt for (your) security, which is to be enforceable wherever it is produced, and in answer to the formal question I acknowledged. I, Aurelius Hierax son of Saprion, councillor of the city of the Pelusiots, through me Aurelius Clemens son of Clemens councillor of the same city, have issued the receipt for the three thousand and eighty-six pounds of meat only, total 3086 lbs., having obtained the counter-receipt as aforesaid.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Κλήμ(η). For the expanded form cf. line 13. For case-endings of Κλήμης (genitive Κλήμη not listed) see Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 49.

<sup>5</sup> πολιτευομένω. This is now the earliest evidence for this title at Oxyrhynchus. See P. Mich. XVIII p. 321; K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 115 (1997) 201–20, esp. 214–5, with his update in *Chr. d'Ég.* 74 (1999) 124 n. 4.

<sup>9</sup> μόνας. The accusative after (γίνονται) (8) is standard form. Cf. 4604 10.

<sup>11</sup> For the ἀντάποχον see LXIII 4386 introd. and 5 n.

R. A. COLES

## 4601. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF CHAFF

119/88 col. ii +  
119/87 col. i

22 June 361

This is the second of the two receipts, copies of which Aurelius Eutrygius sets out following his declaration to the Oxyrhynchite strategus (4598) and his accounts (4599), the first receipt being 4600 above. Here, five(?) councillors of Pelusium acknowledge receipt of 92,200 lbs. of chaff, roughly 30 metric tons. Only the beginnings and ends of lines survive, on two separate pieces: the beginnings are at the right edge of the piece with 4600 (inv. 119/88), while the end of 4601's sheet with the line ends remains attached to the different sequence 4602 and following (inv. 119/87).

This kollesis at the end of the lines of 4601 is unexpectedly a three-layer one, although the relationship of writing to kollesis shows that this marks the end of the first dossier, not a manufacturer's join. A three-layer manufacturer's join, overrun by the text of 4602, occurs just 9 cm to the right.

[ἄλλης ἀποχῆς τὸ ἀ(ντίγραφον)]

ὑπ[ατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων,

Παῦ]νι κη.

Αὐρή[λιοι c. 34 ] καὶ Ἰσχυρίων

A. . [ c. 37 ?οὶ πέ]ντε βουλ(ευταὶ)

5 τ[ῆς Πηλουσιωτῶν μητροπόλεως? c. 20 ?Πηλ]ουσιακ(οῦ)

. . [ c. 40 Π]ηλουσιωτῶν

Αὐρ[ηλίω Εὐτρυνγίω Λευκαδίου πολιτευομένω c. 5 ] . . . . ."

Ὀξυ[ρυγχ- c. 25 ] . . . α. ημεν καὶ ὑπεδεξά-  
 με[θα παρὰ σοῦ c. 30 ] ὑπὲρ . . . . . —  
 10 τ . . [ c. 25 ἀχύρου λιτρῶ]ν μυριάδας ἐνήα  
 καὶ δι[σχιλίας διακοσίας, (γίνονται) λί(τραι) ῥ θ' Βς, c. 8 ] . ἄς κα[ί]  
 λημματίσωμεν  
 διὰ [τῶν μηνιαίων ἡμῶν λόγων, καὶ ἐξεδόμεθά σοι τα]ύτην τὴν ἀποχ[ήν]  
 [ c. 23 καὶ ἐπερωτηθέντες ὠμολο]γήσαμεν.  
 Α[ὐρήλιοι c. 40 ] . . [ . . ] .  
 15 . [ Scattered traces below  
 . . . . .  
 2 ὑπατείας 4 βουλ 5 ]ουσια<sup>κ</sup>? 10 I. ἐννέα 11 I. λημματίσωμεν

1 That there was a heading here, centred and now lost, is indicated by the line alignment compared with **4600**. For the form of the heading cf. **4604**.

5 *μητροπόλεως* (or *πόλεως*, **4605**) is not essential; cf. **4602**. On the other hand *λαμπροτάτης* might have been included, cf. **4598**, **4602**, **4604**. How the rest of this line and the next were filled remains a puzzle. There may have been a reference to a presumed relevant function shared by the Pelusiot councillors, for example *ἐπιμεληταὶ ἀχύρου*, cf. **4600** 4 [*ἐπιμελητ*]ῆς ἀννωνῶν. Alternatively, or in addition (both are present in **4600**), details of an agent may have been given, cf. **4600** 4–5.

7 Aurelius Eurygius is addressed as *πολιτευομένω* in **4600** 5, and describes himself as *praepositus* of the 10th pagus in **4598**. If my suggestion for the end of this line is correct, see below, *πολιτευομένω* must be the preferred supplement here.

The remains at the end are scanty and scattered over a tangle of broken fibres. Nothing is clear except the two diagonal strokes at the end. Conjecturally, what was here may have been part of *τῆς λαμψ' καὶ λαμψ'*, i.e. *λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)*, continuing *Ὀξυ[ρυγχιτῶν πόλεως* in 8. The city is not given its full titulature elsewhere in this sequence of documents.

10–11 Cf. **4598** 10 n.

11 ἐκ πλήρου]ς? Cf. **4600** 9. Or *μόνα*]ς, if the preceding numeral were extended.

R. A. COLES

#### 4602. LETTER TO THE STRATEGUS

119/87 col. ii

22 × 27 cm

October/November 361

Copy of a covering letter to the strategus of the Oxyrhynchite from the president of the council which announces the enclosure of copies of (a) an account of deliveries made to Pelusium (*ὡς ἐξῆς δηλοῦται*, 6–7) and (b) the receipts for those deliveries. We expect an account to follow, on a par with **4599** above, introduced by *εἰς δέ* (8), but such an account is not present; there is a deep lower margin, with only Claudius Heraclius' surprising autograph subscription (9) coming below *εἰς δέ*. For this subscription see the general introduction above to **4598–4605**. Immediately to the right, on the same sheet, are the begin-

nings of some lines from the first of the receipts, **4603**; the ends of **4603**'s lines survive on a separate piece which has the left part of the next receipt **4604**.

ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου  
 τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Ἀθύρ.  
 Σεπτίμιω Ἀπολλωνίω στρατηγῶ Ὀξυρυγχίτου  
 παρὰ Αὐρηλίου Ἡρακλείου Ἡρακλείου προέδρου.  
 5 ἴσον τῶν ἐκδοθισῶν μοι ἀποχῶν ὧν παραδέδωκα  
 ἐπὶ τῆς λαμπροτάτης Πηλουσιωτῶν ὡς ἐξῆς  
 δηλοῦται ἴσον ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ἐντάξας ἐπιδίδωμι  
 ἵν' εἰδέναι ἔχοι σοῦ ἢ ἐμμέλια. εἰς δέ.  
 (m. 2) Κλαύδιος Ἡράκλιος ἐπιδέδωκα.

1 ὑπατείας 5 I. ἐκδοθισῶν 7 ἴσον 8 ἵν' I. ἐμμέλια

In the consulship of Flavii Taurus and Florentius, *viri clarissimi*, Hathyr.

To Septimius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Heraclius son of Heraclius, president. I submit a copy of the receipts issued to me for what I have delivered to the illustrious (city) of the Pelusiot as set out below, attaching a copy in full, that Your Grace may be able to know. As follows:

(2nd hand) 'I, Claudius Heraclius, have presented this.'

4 Aurelius Heraclius calls himself Claudius Heraclius in his subscription, 9; for this oddity see the general introduction above to **4598–4605**. P. Lips. 61 and 62 offer a superficial parallel, but the names there (Aurelius Apis s. of Saïtis in 61 of AD 375, Claudius Apis s. of Saïtis in 62 of AD 384–5) are consistent within each document, unlike **4602**.

7 ἴσον ἐξ ὀλοκλήρου ἐντάξας. Cf. LXIII **4376** 7–8. Should we print {*ἴσον*}, so that *ἴσον* in 5 becomes the object of *ἐντάξας* rather than *ἐπιδίδωμι* (cf. XVIII **2187** 11–12, τὸ ἴσον ὑποτάξας ἐπιδίδωμι)? Printing {*ἴσον*} in 5 would achieve the same grammatical effect. Otherwise, I suppose that two sets of copies are referred to: in 5, the copies of the receipts given to Heraclius, and in 7 the copy of the delivery list, which was never appended.

8 For *ἐμμέλια* cf. LX **4089** 8 n., **4091** 6 n. **4602** attests its unqualified use for the strategus, within the limits of our knowledge. For Paeanius (**4089**, **4091**) I supposed that his tenure as *curator civitatis* had entitled him to this honorific abstract, but no other post is known for Septimius Apollonius. Cf. **4607** 8 below, where it is applied to C. Julius Leucadius, strategus, whose only other known appointment was as prytanis.

R. A. COLES

#### 4603. RECEIPT FOR DELIVERY TO PELUSIUM

119/87 col. iii +  
119/80 col. i

17 October 361

This is the first of the copies of the receipts for goods delivered to Pelusium that Heraclius submits with his covering letter to the Oxyrhynchite strategus, **4602**. **4603** is



extremely fragmentary, with minimal traces just of the line beginnings following **4602** and the line ends preceding **4604** on a separate piece of papyrus, so that its identification as a receipt rests on an *a priori* assumption backed by the marginal notation [ἄ]λλης ἀποχῆς [ that heads **4604**.

(m. 1) ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων, Φ]αῶφι κ.  
 [ ]  
 Αὐρηλί[ι- c. 37-44 ]ν  
 . [ c. 14-21 Αὐρηλίω Ἡρακλείω Ἡρακλείου] προέδρω  
 5 . . [ ]ν  
 [ ]ν  
 [ ]..  
 [ ]...  
 [ ]ν  
 10 [ ]ε  
 [ ].....  
 [ ].....ρο  
 [ ]..

1 ὑπατείας

1 Presumably a marginal notation, now lost, was centred above this line. This is the first of the receipts appended to Heraclius' letter to the strategus. **4600** has a similar position in the Aurelius Eutrygius group **4598-4601**, and its marginal notation ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ τὸ ἴσον τῶν ἀποχῶν is probably the best guide to what may have stood in **4603**.

2 No traces survive of any writing at this level, but the spacing between the lines numbered 1 and 3 suggests that there may have been an inset line here on a par with **4604** 3.

5 There are no traces below this on the fragment with **4603**'s line beginnings, inv. 119/87.

13 Below this line, there are traces of perhaps three more line ends, but most of the ink is on loose tangled fibres and cannot be assigned to particular lines with certainty. Below that, we may have reached the lower margin.

R. A. COLES

#### 4604. ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF RECEIPT OF GOLD

119/80 col. ii

17 × 26.5 cm

361

Only the left-hand third of this text survives, the second receipt in the Heraclius sequence **4602-5**. Necessary supplements, particularly lines 5 (where there may have been

abbreviations) and 10, seem to require line lengths substantially longer than the other texts in the series **4598-4605**. At the left are the line ends of **4603**.

A group of three Pelusios, one or two of them ex-magistrates and at least one of them a χρυσώνης, acknowledge the receipt from Heraclius of upwards of 4 lbs. of gold on account of the *aurum tironicum* tax and at least one other tax. The damage complicates our understanding of the amounts, but I suspect that what was paid was a combination of bullion (4 lbs.) and coins (70 solidi) and that in line 15 (and line 8 also?) the coins were calculated as bullion (11 oz. 16 gr.). Of this grand total, 2 lbs. 11 oz. 12¼ gr. (line 9) was paid for a tax specified in the lost part of line 8; the residue (2 lbs. 3¾ gr.) was on account of the *aurum tironicum* tax, and possibly a further tax if space admitted — comparison with line 10 indicates space for around 35 letters between ἰνδικτ[ίονος and (γίνονται) in line 9.

I have restored the signatures of the receiving officials in Pelusium (12 ff.) in the same order in which they are named at the beginning of the document, but this is by no means certain, especially if all three held the office of χρυσώνης and not just the last to sign (16, the only place in the text where the title is actually preserved). In two parallel texts, P. Flor. I 95 and P. Lips. 62, there are certainly two and (in P. Flor. 95) probably three χρυσώναι acting concurrently. All of these persons in those texts were πολιτευόμενοι of Antinoopolis; although the post of χρυσώνης was at provincial level, none of them has the gentilicium Flavius. The office is briefly discussed by J. Lallemand, *L'administration civile* 219; see also J. Gascou and K. A. Worp, *Tyche* 3 (1988) 105 ff.

[ἄ]λλης ἀποχῆς [τὸ ἀντίγραφον]

ὑπατείας Φλα[ου]ί[ω]ν Ταύρου καὶ Φλω[ρεντίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων,

month and day.]

ἐν τῇ λα[μ]προτάτῃ Πηλου[σιωτῶν (μητρο)πόλει. Αὐρηλίωι x son of x]

καὶ Ποτάμμων Ε[ὐτ]ρυγίου[ν] ἄρξ[ι]ς [(αντες?)] καὶ Μαρρ[ί]ης? son of x,

χρυσώναι ἐπαρχίας Αὐγουσταμνικῆς?]

5 Αὐρηλίω Ἡρακλ[ε]ίω Ἡρακλείου προέδρω τῆς Ὀξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως

χαίρειν. ἀκολουθῶς τοῖς κελευθεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς]

ἀρετῆς τοῦ κυρ[ί]ου μου λαμπροτάτω[ν] ἡγεμόνος(?) (name) ὑπεδεξάμεθα]

παρὰ σοῦ τὰς ἀποσταλίσας ὑπὸ τ[ ] ? χρυσοῦ λίτρας τέσσαρας

? σταθμῶ καὶ ἐν νομισματίοις?]

νομίσματα ἑβδομήκοντα, (γίνονται) χρυσοῦ[ν] λί[τ]ραι δ' . . . [ἀπὸ λόγου?

χρυσοῦ]

λί[τ]ρας β' (οὐγκίας) ἰα γρ(άμματα) ἰβδ', τινῶν τῆς εἰ[σ]ῆς ἰνδικτ[ί]ονος

c. 35 (γίνονται)]

10 αἰ προκίμεναι πλήρης μόνας ἄς καὶ λημ[ματίομεν] διὰ τῶν μηνιαίων

ἡμῶν λόγων καὶ ἐξεδόμεθα]

κοι τὴν ἀποχὴν ἐσχηκότες παρὰ σοῦ τὸ [ἀντάποχον ]  
 ἀποχὴν ἐπιφερομένην πανταχοῦ Ἀυρήλιος x χρυσώνης  
 ὑπεδεξάμην ]  
 [τ]ὰς προκειμένας τοῦ χρυσοῦ λίτρας τῆ[σσοαρας ?σταθμῶ καὶ ἐν  
 νομισματίοις? νομίσματα]  
 ἐβδομήκοντα ὡς πρόκειται. Ἀυρήλιος[ς Ποτάμμων(?) χρυσώνης  
 συνυπεδεξάμην ]  
 15 τοῦ χρυσοῦ λιτρῶν τεσσάρων οὐγκι[ῶν ια γραμμάτων ις? Ἀυρήλιος  
 Μαρρή[ς?]  
 χρυσώνης συνυπεδεξάμην . . [

2 ὑπατείας 4 ἀρξ[?]? 6 l. ἡμῶν 7 l. ἀποσταλείας ὑπο 8 / λ?  
 9 λ 16 γρβ' ἰνδικτιονος? 10 l. προκειμένοι 13 l. προκειμένας 14 l. πρόκειται  
 16 συνυπεδεξάμην

'[Copy] of another receipt.

In the consulship of Flavii Taurus and Florentius, *virī clarissimi*, [month & day]; in the most illustrious city of the Pelusiots. Aurelii x son of x and Potammon son of Eutychiu, former magistrates, and Marres(?) son of x, *chrysonai* of the province of Augustamnica(?), to Aurelius Heraclius son of Heraclius, president of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. In accordance with the orders of the Virtue of my lord . . . , *vir clarissimus, praeses*(?), we have received from you the [four pounds of gold ?by weight and in coinage?] seventy solidi, dispatched by . . . , total 4 lbs. . . . of gold: [?on account of (name of tax)] 2 lbs. 11 oz. 12<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> gr. [of gold], for recruits-tax for the 5th indiction . . . , total the aforesaid, in full and no more, which also we will record as received through our monthly accounts, and we have issued the receipt to you, having obtained from you [the counter-receipt] . . . the receipt, wherever it is produced . . . [I, Aurelius x, *chrysones*, have received] the aforesaid four pounds of gold [by weight, and in coinage?] seventy [solidi] as aforesaid. I, Aurelius [Potammon(?), *chrysones*, have jointly received . . .] four pounds [11] ounces [16 grams(?)] of gold. I, Aurelius Marres(?), *chrysones*, have jointly received . . . ?

3 The entire transcript is extremely hazardous, apart from initial ε. Beyond Πηλον[ a few indeterminate traces are visible on loose fibres. None of the other receipts in this series opens with a location like this, as far as can be seen, although 4603 (see 2 n.) may have had something similar.

4 Μαρρ[ῆς? That name is predominantly Arsinoite, within the limits of our documentation. Our knowledge of the onomastics of Pelusium is understandably limited; note, for example, the previously unattested name Διονν(σο?)κάσιος in 4605 3.

6 ἀρετής. See LIV 3758 14 n., where officials to whom the word was applied were given as prefect, *praeses, rationalis* and *dux*. The official in 4604 is styled λαμπρότατος, but that in itself does not allow us any further to restrict the possibilities. P. Lips. 61 and 62, comparable texts, refer to the orders of the *praeses* at this point. On that basis, the official here would be the *praeses* of Augustamnica; a *praeses* of Augustamnica attested in office in 361 is Εὐθῆριος; see B. Palme, *Ant. Tard.* 6 (1998) 134.

10 πλήρης is treated as indeclinable, cf. LI 3637 8 n.; accusative μόνας is also standard, cf. 4600 9 n.

R. A. COLES

## 4605. RECEIPT FOR MONADS OF DENARII IN ALEXANDRIA

119/78

22 × 24.5 cm

29 June 361

This item is almost complete, and stands alone on its papyrus sheet. A councillor of Pelusium, Aurelius Posis, who is also a banker in Alexandria, acknowledges receipt from Aurelius Heraclius of a large quantity of denarii for arrears of the freight charges of flat-bottomed boats. The denarii are reckoned in terms of the puzzling word *μονάς*, for which see R. A. Coles, 'What is a *monad*?', in *Atti del XXII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, forthcoming.

The script is different from that of 4598–4604; for this and other topics see the general introduction to 4598–4605 above. It may be noted that, although Posis declares that he wrote the entire receipt (9), this is irrelevant to a consideration of 4605's different script, since 4605's docket (1) formally describes the document as a copy. The docket itself is in the same hand as the body of the text.

The lower half of the sheet is blank. There is a kollesis almost down the centre of the sheet. In the lower margin, what at first looks like another kollesis just 1 cm to the left is in reality just a crease.

(m. 3) ἄλλης ὁμοίως τὸ ἀντίγραφον)  
 ὑπατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων),  
 Ἐπειφ ε.  
 Ἀυρήλιος Πόσις Διονυκαίου βουλευτῆς τῆς Πηλουσιώτων πόλε[ως c. 7 ]  
 [τραπ]εξέτις Ἀλεξανδρείας Ἀυρηλίω Ἡρακλείω Ἡρακλείου πρυτάνει  
 [τῆς]  
 5 [Ἄξυ]ρνηχιτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ ἐσχηκέναι καὶ ὑποδ[εδέχθαι  
 παρὰ]  
 σοῦ ἐν [τ]ῇ κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν δημοσίᾳ τραπέζῃ ὑπὲρ ναύλων  
 πλ[ατυπηγί-]  
 [ων] πλοίων ἀπὸ λόγου τετάρτης ἰνδικτίονος ἀργυρίου Σεβαστῶν  
 νομ[ίματος]  
 δη[να]ρίων μυριάδων μονάδας ἑπτὰ ἐκ πλήρους καὶ ἐξεδόμην ς[οι  
 τήνδε τήν]  
 ἀποχὴν βεβαίαν καὶ κυρίαν οὐσαν ἐμοῦ τοῦ Πόσι δόλογραφον καὶ  
 ἐ[περωτηθεῖς]

10 ὤμο[λ]όγησα. Αὐρήλιος Πόσις ὁ προκείμενος ἐξεδόμην τὴν ἀπ[οχὴν ὡς]  
πρόκειται.

1 ✕ 2 λαμ) 3 βου λευτης; the writer has left a gap at the kollesis. Gaps at the kollesis also occur  
in 4 and 5 4 I. *τραπεζίτης* 5 A spot of ink before *υπ-*; *ὑπ-* intended? 6 η of *δημοσία* re-inked  
on faulty papyrus surface 10 I. *προκείμενος*

(3rd hand) 'Copy of another likewise.

'In the consulship of Flavii Taurus and Florentius, *virī clarissimi*, Epeiph 5.

'Aurelius Posis son of Dionycasius, councillor of the city of the Pelusians, . . . banker of Alexandria, to Aurelius Heraclius son of Heraclius, prytanis of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that I have had and received from you in the state bank at Alexandria, in respect of the freight charges of flat-bottomed boats, from the account of the fourth indiction, seven monads of myriads of denarii of money of the coinage of the Augusti, in full, and I have issued this receipt to you, being guaranteed and enforceable, all written by me Posis, and in answer to the formal question I acknowledged. I, Aurelius Posis the aforesaid, have issued the receipt as aforesaid.'

3 The name Dionycasius has not been attested before. Conceivably we should correct to (an equally unattested) *Διονυ(σο)καίου*.

No doubt Posis was a public banker, and the lacuna at the end of this line will have the expression defining *τραπεζίτης* (4). Obviously *δημόσιος* will fit, but see J. D. Thomas, *JCS* 28 (1985) 119, pointing out the change of title to *δημοσίων χρημάτων τραπεζίτης* by the first decade of the fourth century. That would require abbreviations, not employed in this text except in lines 1–2.

6 *κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδρειαν*. Cf. P. Turner 45.4–5 n.

6–7 For flat-bottomed boats cf. LI 3636 1 and n.; LXII 4348 6 and n. The amount here (perhaps to be understood as the equivalent in denarii of 35 solidi, cf. the near-contemporary P. Oslo III 162) is much less than the 298 solidi assessed on the Oxyrhynchite nome in 3636. There are several possible reasons. (1) The assessment here may be on the city only; 3636 refers to the assessment for the whole nome. (The deliveries recorded in 4598–4601 above are presumably derived from just the 10th pagus, albeit from both metropolitan residents and villagers.) (2) The amount here, which is for arrears, may be only a part payment (cf. *ἀπὸ λόγου*, 7?). (3) The amount may have been lower in 361 than in the fifth century. (4) Payments connected with Pelusium may have been extra to and separate from 'general' charges for transport in flat-bottomed boats.

7 The fourth indiction refers to the year before, 360/1 (before 1 May 361: see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 26). The numbered indiction references in 4598–4600 and probably 4604 refer to the current fifth indiction (361/2, from 1 May 361 at Oxyrhynchus).

R. A. COLES

#### 4606–4613. DOCUMENTS CONCERNING THE *ANNONA*

The texts in the following group are not physically linked as were 4598–4605 (except 4611–12), and unlike 4598–4605 they all concern different transactions, but except for 4607 they all relate to an earlier stage of the same process, the collection and delivery to Pelusium and Alexandria of various *annona* commodities. The first of this new group, 4606,

is dated to August–September 361 and must therefore have been addressed to the Oxyrhynchite strategus Septimius Apollonius who features in 4598–4605, but 4606's content is closer to the later group. 4607–13 all fit in the date span 362–4; a further link between them is that they are all addressed to C. Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, probably Septimius Apollonius' immediate successor and currently the last strategus of the Oxyrhynchite to be known by name. Cf. 4598–4605 introd. His name should be added to G. Bastianini and J. Whitehorne, *Strategi and Royal Scribes* 106. He had already been prytanis of Oxyrhynchus by 360, see P. Mert. I 36.

The general format of 4606 and 4608–13 is clearest in 4612 (the most fully preserved) but the following is applicable also to the others. Before conjunction in a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος* (as 4611 was attached to 4612), each item comprised (a) the report, headed by the consular date and finishing with the (sometimes inset) specification of the boat being used, this latter part possibly inserted and written in a large formal hand, and with subscriptions (usually two) at the foot, and (b), preserved in 4611–12, on continuous surface to the right (i.e. not separated by a *συγκολλήσιμος*-type join) and in a different practised official cursive, the list of the commodities to be delivered, which closes with a consular reprise, month and day. On the back, regardless of whether it was the back of (a) or (b), was placed a brief annotation of the indiction, commodity and quantity.

Many of the Oxyrhynchite councillors, functioning as *ἐπιμεληταί* and undertaking the deliveries, appear in more than one text in the group. In several of the texts it seems that they may have functioned as a college of five. For convenience a table is given overleaf. The most often attested, Sarapion son of Plutarchus, may recur in SB XIV 12099 of 367.

Identification of the hands in these texts is a problem. Part of the difficulty is whether the boat sections are really in a different hand, or just in a different style by the same writer. A further difficulty is whether any more weight can be placed on occasional stylistic similarities between the main script of 4608 and 4611 col. i on the one hand, and the main scripts of 4612 and 4613 on the other.

#### 4606. UNDERTAKING TO DELIVER WHEAT TO PELUSIUM

119/11

14.5 × 26.5 cm

August–September 361

Chronologically this text falls within the time span of the preceding group 4598–4605, and it relates to Pelusium as do those texts, but its format is akin to 4608–13 in the Leucadius group that follows.

A group of four(?) Oxyrhynchite councillors, functioning as *ἐπιμεληταί εἰτου Πηλουσίου*, declares on oath to the strategus that they have taken charge of 800 artabas of wheat and loaded them on board a boat (of which the specifications are given in 16–18) and will deliver it to Pelusium. The first-named of the group and his father are potentially of prosopographical interest, see 16 n.

There is a manufacturer's three-layer kollesis down the left edge. On the back are the

TABLE 4. *Oxyrynchite councillors undertaking delivery of annona*

	4606	4607	4608	4609	4610	4611	4612	4613
	8-9.361 wheat	362/3 wine, meat	later 362 barley	later 362 wheat	13.6.363 barley	7-8.363 wheat	7-8.363 wheat	early 364 barley
Dioscurides al. Julianus s. of Julianus al. Dioscurides	x							
Julianus s. of x	x							
Sarapion s. of Plutarchus	x		x	x			x	
Sarapion s. of Herm-		x						
Petrus s. of Agathinus			x	x				
Ammonius s. of Apion			x					
Dorotheus s. of Arsinoüs			x	x				
Gennadius s. of Julianus					?			x
Hierax								
Serenus s. of Eusebius					x			x
Timagenes s. of Serenus								x
Josephus s. of Timotheus								

badly abraded remains of a two(?) -line docket; the lines are quite long compared with the others of this group. πληρ is reasonably clear in the middle of the first line, but there is not another letter that I can identify.

[ύπατείας Φλαουίων Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρ]εντίου τῶν λαμ(προτάτων),  
Θῶθ ...

[Cεπτιμῖω Ἀπολλωνίω ] στρατηγῶ [ Ὀξυρυγίτου ]  
[παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Διοσκουρίδου τοῦ καὶ(?) Ἰο[υλι]ανοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ (τοῦ  
καὶ) Διοσκουρίδου καὶ Ἰου[λιανοῦ(?)  
[ c. 29 ] . . . κ[α]ῖ Cαραπίωνος Πλουτάρχου τῶν  
πάντ[ων βουλευτῶν]

5 [τῆς λαμ(πράς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)(?) Ὀξυρυγι]τῶν πόλεως ἐπιμελητῶν  
είτου Πηλουσιῶν. [ὁμολογοῦμεν]  
[ὁμνύντες τὸν σεβάσμιον θεῖον ὄρκο]ν τ[ῶ]ν δεξιοτῶν ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου  
αἰωνίου Αὐγ[ούστου καὶ]  
[Ἰουλιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου Καίς]αρος παρὶληφέναι καὶ ἐμβεβλήσθαι  
εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς [ύποτεταγμένον]  
[πλοῖον ἀπὸ γενήματος τῆς εὐ]τυ[χοῦς] ε[ξ]// νέας ἰνδικτίονος πυροῦ  
νέου καθαροῦ ἀκρίθου καὶ ἀβρόχου]  
[καὶ ἐκτὸς πάσης αἰτίας καθεστηκότος μέτρ]ω δημοσίω μετρήσει τῇ  
κελευ[ς]θήσει ἐπ[ὶ] τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρτάβας ὀκτακοσίας]

10 [ c. 27 ] . . κενωθεσίαν ε . . [ . ] . . ου μέρος  
κεκοσκι(νευμένον) . . . [ . ] . .  
[ c. 27 ] . . . καθὼς ὁ ζυγοστάτης ὑπέβαλεν ἰδι . . . [ . ] . .  
[ c. 25 ] κα]τενεκῶμεν ἐπὶ τῇ λαμ(προτάτη)  
Πηλουσιωτῶν [μητροπόλει  
[ c. 29 ] . . . θησαυρ[ ] . . . [ . . . ] ἀριθμῶ π[λήρης]  
[ c. 29 ] . . . εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἐν[οχοι  
εἶμεν τῶ]

15 [θείω ὄρκω up to c. 20 ] . (vac.) [ . ]  
[εἰς πλοῖον ἰδιωτικὸν c. 6 β]ενεφικιαρίου [τά]ξεως τ[ο]ῦ λαμ(προτάτου)  
δουκὸς . . [ . ] . .  
[ c. 16 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυ]ρ[υ]γίτου αἰ [προκείμεναι] τῶ[υ] ζίτ[ο]ν  
ἀ(ρτάβαι) ὡ'', οὗ ἐ[γ] (γυνητής) [ . ] . . [ . . . ] . . [ . . . ] . . (vac.?)  
(m. 2) [Αὐρήλιος Cαραπίων Π]λουτάρχ[ου] παρὶληφ(α) τὰς τοῦ εἰτου

20 (m. 3) [Αὐρήλιος c. 8 c]υ[μπ]αρίληφα ἄμα τοῖς κοῖ(νωνοῖς) καὶ  
ἀρτάβας ὠκτακοσίας [   
 συνπαράδω[σω

1 λαμς//? 7 l. παρειληφέναι 9 l. μετρήσει, κελευθείση 10 κεκοκς? 12 l. κατε-  
νεγκοῦμεν λαμς 16 λαμς// 17 ᾱ? εγ'' 19 l. παρείληφα, ὀκτακοσίας  
20 l. συμπαρείληφα κοῖ? καὶ κοῖγ.? l. συμπαράδώσω

'In the consulship of Flavii Taurus and Florentius, *virī clarissimi*, Thoth x.

'To Septimius Apollonius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, [from Aurelii Dioscurides alias?] Julianus son of Julianus (alias) Dioscurides and Julianus(?) . . . and Sarapion son of Plutarchus, all councillors [of the illustrious and most illustrious?] city of the Oxyrhynchites, overseers of wheat for Pelusium. We acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath by our masters Constantius eternal Augustus and Julianus the most noble Caesar, that we have received and loaded on to the boat specified hereafter, from the produce of the propitious 5th new indiction, a total of eight hundred artabas of wheat that is new, pure, free from barley and dry and clear of all blame, ascertained by public measure according to the ordained method of measurement . . . we will convey (the cargo) down to the illustrious metropolis of the Pelusians . . . granary . . . to the full amount . . . so as to be blamed in nothing, or may we be liable to the consequences of the divine oath.

'On to a private boat belonging to . . . , *beneficiarius* in the *officium* of the *dux*, *vir clarissimus*, . . . from the Oxyrhynchite, the aforesaid 800 artabas of wheat: of which the guarantor . . .'

(2nd hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapion son of Plutarchus, have received the eight hundred artabas of wheat . . .'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius . . . , have received (the artabas of wheat) jointly with my colleagues and I will jointly hand (them) over . . .'

1 The date and the restoration of the consuls' names here mainly depend on the reference to Constantius II in 6 (deceased 3 November 361 near Tarsus) and to the newly-begun 5th indiction in 8.

The day of the month (Thoth) at the line end may not have two digits (restricting the day to September), but might have a single figure with a marker-stroke.

2 For the identity of the strategus cf. **4598** and **4602** above. **4606**'s date falls between the dates of those two.

3 Υἱο[υ]λιανοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ Διοσκούριδου. Some correction is necessary. Bracketing one Ἰουλιανοῦ for deletion, or inserting καὶ before the second Ἰουλιανοῦ, would have the same effect of identifying one of the ἐπιμεληταί as Julianus son of Dioscurides, undoubtedly the distinguished but now elderly local figure: see further 16 n. This Julianus was Flavius, not Aurelius. I have thought it preferable to supply (τοῦ καὶ) between Ἰουλιανοῦ and Διοσκούριδου, with the effect of making this Julianus (with a new but not unexpected alias) the father of the Julianus named just before. Knowledge of this family's history and nomenclature (cf. P. Oxy. LIV pp. 223–6) then strongly suggests the supplement Διοσκούριδου τοῦ καὶ in the first part of the line.

8 πυροῦ. This text uses *λίτου* in 5, 17 and 19.

10 κραιωθεσίαν. The word appears to be new. The spelling is uncertain: \*κραιωθεσία? \*κραιωθεσία?

ἐπί? After that, the remaining letters could equally admit [ἀ]γγιούμερος, cf. **4612** 13. Then, δομικός would be tempting, cf. **4612** 14, but the letter before κ does appear to be ε, with γ excluded.

11 ζυγοστάτης. See LXIII **4395** 26–7 n. **4606** appears to be the earliest reference to the office in a papyrus.

12 For the future form *κατενεγκοῦμεν* (*κα*)*τενεγκοῦμεν* pap.) see Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 287–8.

ἐπὶ τῆ. Case usage in this expression appears to be rather free; we find the genitive in **4598**, **4602**, and **4612**, the accusative in **4608** and **4609**.

For the epithet *λαμπροτάτη* applied to Pelusium cf. **4602** 6 and **4604** 3 above.

13 Cf. **4610** 11, though the wording must have been slightly different here.

15 A few faint marks at the end of the line may indicate that *ἔστι δέ* once stood there. Cf. **4612** 12 n.

16 *πλοῖον* as elsewhere (**4609**, **4613**) would admit a longer personal name for the *beneficiarius*. On boat owners see R. S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* 36–7.

There is, I suppose, no reason to think that the *beneficiarius* here might be Flavius Julianus, the well-attested former *curator civitatis* of the Oxyrhynchite who features in **4610** 4 below as father of Aurelius ?Gennadius, councillor and *ἐπιμελητής*, and probably here in 3 with his previously unattested alias Dioscurides, perhaps as father of Dioscurides alias Julianus—likewise councillor (restored) and *ἐπιμελητής*—whom we might suppose to be his elder son, this pair of names then being attested over four generations, the order of the names being reversed each generation. Julianus was still active in 355, see LX **4092**, and may have held a post in the office of the *praeses* of Augustamnica in 360, see **4092** introd., possibly *beneficiarius*, see P. Oxy. LIV p. 226. Here the *beneficiarius* is attached to the office of the *dux*. The name Ἰουλιανοῦ could fit, if *πλοῖον* were abbreviated (see above), but we would lack the *gentilicium* Flavius for him; on the other hand, the boat-owner Theon in **4612** is a person we might also expect to have the *gentilicium* Flavius, certainly not present. It might seem only natural for Dioscurides alias Julianus to make use of his father's boat for the shipment, even though his brother ?Gennadius did not do so two years later (**4610**).

The reading at the end is uncertain. **4612** at this point continues (as restored) along the lines οὐ κυβερνήτης X son of Y ἀπὸ Z. οὐδ' is not easily read here.

R. A. COLES

#### 4607. RECEIPTS OF *ANNONA* COMMODITIES

119/17

32 × 19.5 cm

362/3

Aurelius Sarapion, *ἐπιμελητής ἀννωνῶν* and probably an Oxyrhynchite councillor, reports to C. Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite (see **4606–13** introd.), the receipt of substantial quantities of wine and meat and their disbursement to soldiers of a unit under -nianus, *praepositus*. The amounts involved were: wine, 30,000 *xestai*, approximately 15,000 litres (col. i 10), and 15,000 *litrai* of meat, approximately 5000 kg (col. i 11). Ration figures show many variables but these amounts might represent a month's supplies for 1000 men: see P. Oxy. LX p. 192. The short 9-line statement of report was followed by a long itemised list of the commodities, arranged by municipal and villagers' contributions, the former under individual names. It is not stated from whom Aurelius Sarapion obtained these supplies; I suspect that **4607** does not represent the record of the original collection from the locals (cf. LXI **4119** introd. ad fin.) and that the long list following was simply copied here from an earlier document.

The municipal wine contributions occupy the lower half of col. i, then all of cols. ii–iii, and probably continued into a lost col. iv; these would then have been followed by the villagers' contributions of wine, roughly twice the quantity but probably summarised by village instead of under individual names, and then the meat contributions from the

two sources must have followed that, so that the report would have run to several columns beyond what survives. To some extent LX 4089 is parallel.

On the back (on the other side of the top of col. ii), and perhaps in the same hand, is a five-line annotation summarizing the quantities of wine (line 1), meat (2), and further *litrai* amounts in 3 and possibly 4-5, that in 5 possibly the total of 3-4. Whether these further *litrai* amounts represent another commodity or commodities is unclear. Lines 10-11 of col. i on the front offer no scope for more than two commodities.

There is a manufacturer's three-layer kollesis between cols. i and ii.

## Col. i

[Γ]αίου Ίουλίου Λευ[κ]αδίου στρατηγῶ Ὁξυρ[υγχιτο]υ  
 [πα]ρὰ Α[ύ]ρηλίου Καραπίωνος Ἐρμ. . . . . [ . . . ] . .  
 [ ?πόλε]ως ἐπιμελ(ητοῦ) ἀννωνῶν στρατιωτῆ[κῶ]υ  
 [3-4]υ . . [ . ]νιανον πραιπόσιτον α . . . [ c. 7 ]  
 5 [2-3] τὴν εἰρήνη[υ. λό]γος τῆς γενομένης ὑ[π' ἐμο]ῦ  
 παραλήμψεως οἴνου καὶ κρέ[ως] καὶ π[α]ρ[α]δόσεω[ς]  
 [τ]οῖς αὐτοῖς στρατιώτης γενήματος σ'' ἰνδικτίον[ος τὸ]  
 [κατ' ἀν]δρα ἐξῆς ἐντάξας ἐπιδίδομι τῇ σῆ ἐμμελεία  
 [ἔν' εἰδέ]ν[α]ι ἔχοις. ἔστι δέ .  
 10 [οἴνου ὑποστάσε]ω[ς] ξ(εστῶν) (μυριάδες) γ  
 [κρέως ὑπο]στ[άσεω]ς λί(τραι) (μυρ.) α ,Ε  
 ὧν  
 [ c. 8 ]ου πολιτῶν τον[ ] [ ] (vac.)  
 [ c. 8 ]π[ε] [ c. 6 ] . . ξ(έσται) ,Θτγ'  
 15 [ c. 8 ] . . [ ](vac.) [ ]ν'

## Col. ii

Θεωνίς Εὐτολμίου [ ]  
 Φλ(άουιος) Ἀλέξανδρος νοτάριος ξ(έσται) φ''  
 Εὐάντιον Ἀφθονίου ξ(έσται) τ'  
 Ὑπηρέχιον Λεωνίδου ξ(έσται) ]η'  
 5 Ἀρσινόη γυ(νή) . . . . . ρ[ . . ] ξ(έσται) κ'  
 Ἡλιοδώρα θυ(γάτηρ) Ἀπολλωνίου[υ] ξ(έσται) ρ'  
 Κυράδιον θυ(γάτηρ) Ἀγαθίνο[υ] ξ(έσται) ρ  
 [ . . ] [ . . ] ον [ . ]υ( ) Ἀμμων[ια]νο[υ] ξ(έσται) ιγ  
 [Ω]ρίων γραμ(ματεὺς) δ'' πάγο[υ] ξ(έσται) ι

10 Θεόδωρος Ἀπολλωνίου ξ(έσται) λγ  
 Οὐαλεντίνα γυ(νή) Δυναμίου ξ(έσται) χ  
 Σερήνος . . . . [ . ] . υ ξ(έσται) εν  
 Διονύσιος ὀφ(φικιάλιος) ξ(έσται) φ  
 [ . . . ] , ρειος Ἀριετίωνος ξ(έσται) .  
 15 [ . . . ]ωνιος γεγόμενος φύλαξ [ ]  
 [ . . . ] , τ . . . καὶ Καραποδώρα ξ(έσται) . .  
 [ 6-7 ] θυ(γάτηρ) Ὠριγέν[ους] ξ(έσται) ξ'  
 [ c. 18 ] . ξ(έσται) τ  
 [ up to c. 19 ] ξ(έσται) c  
 20 [ c. 18 ] . . . . . [ ]

## Col. iii

. . . [ . ]ις γυ(νή) Γαίανου ξ(έσται) [ ]  
 Ἀπίων Ἀπολιναρίου ξ(έσται) [ ]  
 Γερόντιος Ποσιδωνίου [ ]  
 Φλ(άουιος) Εὐδαίμων ὀφ(φικιάλιος) ξ(έσται) [ ]  
 5 Πτολεμ[α]ί[ος] Εὐλογίου ξ(έσται) [ ]  
 Φλ(άουιος) Κρησκέντιος ξ(έσται) [ ]  
 Μακρόβιος Ζωίλου [ ]  
 Ἀπίων Καρ[α]π[ί]ωνος [ ]  
 Ἐρμίας ἀπὸ πραι(ποσίτων) [ ]  
 10 Φλ(άουιος) . . [ . ]βάτιος [ ]  
 Φλ(άουιος) Ζήνων ἀπὸ πραι(ποσίτων) [ ]  
 Καραπιάς γυ(νή) Ἀντιόχο[υ]  
 . . [ . ] . . . . . [ ]  
 Διονυσό[δ]ωρος Δο . [ ]  
 15 . . ρασιον [ γυ(νή)? ] Θεοδώ[ρου(?)]  
 Τιμόθεο[ς] (φικιάλιος) [ ]  
 Θε[ . . . ] . . . . . φ . . . . . [ ]  
 [ . . . ] . . . . . [ . ]υ( ) . . . . . ε . [ ]  
 Εὐτρόπιον θυ(γάτηρ) . . . [ ]  
 20 Γε[ . . ] [ ]  
 . [ ]

Back, ↓

1 οἴ(νου) ξ(έστα) (μυριάδεσ) γ . . . ια . . .<sup>υ</sup>  
<sup>Ε</sup>  
 2 κρέ(ωσ) λί(τραι) (μυριάσ) α [[B. . .]]  
<sup>Ζρπβ</sup>  
 3 λί(τραι) [[Eωνβ]]  
 4 [ up to c. 5 ] . . . λ ρι  
 5 ] . τ ρ λ . . . [ ] . [

Col. i

1 γαῖου 1. Γαίω Ἰουλίω Λευκαδίω 3 ἐπιμελ' 5 l. λόγον 7 l. στρατιώταισ  
 8 l. ἐπιδίδωμι 9 Unexplained diagonal stroke over ε of εἶχοις δε? 10 ε; so in 13, and col. ii 2-14,  
 16-19, col. iii 1-2, 3-5 and Back 1 ~ (so in 11, and Back 1-2) 11 λ (so Back 2-3, also ?4-5) Λε

Col. ii

2 φλ' (so col. iii 4, 6, 10-11) 3 l. ἐδάνθιον? 4 ὑπηρεχιον; 1. Ὑπερέχιον 5 γυ<sup>-</sup> (so in 11,  
 col. iii 1, 12) 6 θυ<sup>-</sup> (so in 7, 17 and col. iii 19) 8 [γ]υ<sup>-</sup> or [θ]υ<sup>-</sup> 9 γραμ<sup>ς</sup> 13 οφ;  
 so in col. iii 4

Col. iii

1 -ῖανου 7 ζωῖλου 9 πραι<sup>2</sup> (so in 11) 16 οφ? Only diagonal survives  
 18 γ]υ<sup>-</sup> or θ]υ<sup>-</sup>

Back

1 οε<sup>⊥</sup> 2 κρε<sup>2</sup> supralinear Λε (so in deletion in 3)

Col. i

'To Gaius Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Sarapion son of Herm-, [councillor of the same city?], overseer of army supplies . . . -nianus, *praepositus* . . . I submit to Your Grace the account of the collection of wine and meat effected by me and its disbursement to the aforesaid soldiers from the produce of the 6th indiction, attaching herewith the list by individuals, that you may be able to know. As follows:

'Wine, assessed on property 30,000 xestai.  
 Meat, assessed on property 15,000 lbs.  
 'Of which:  
 ' . . . metropolitans . . . 9,350 xestai

Col. ii

'Theonis . . . of Eutolmius [  
 'Flavius Alexander, notary 500 xestai  
 'Evantion . . . of Aphthonius 300 xestai  
 'Hyperechion . . . of Leonides [ ] 8 xestai  
 'Arsinoe wife of . . . 20 xestai  
 'Heliodora daughter of Apollonius 100 xestai

'Syradion daughter of Agathinus 100 xestai  
 '-on wife/daughter of Ammonianus 13 xestai  
 'Horion, secretary of the 4th pagus 10 xestai  
 'Theodulus son of Apollonius 33 xestai  
 'Valentina wife of Dynamius 600 xestai  
 'Serenus . . . 250 xestai  
 'Dionysius, *officialis* 500 xestai  
 '-rius son of Aristion [ ] xestai  
 '-onius, former guard [ ]  
 ' . . . and Sarapodora [ ] xestai  
 '[ ] daughter of Horigenes 60 xestai  
 '[ ] 300 xestai  
 '[ ] 200 xestai  
 '[ ] . . . . . [

Col. iii

'is wife of [?G]aianus [ ] xestai  
 'Apion son of Apolinarius [ ] xestai  
 'Gerontius son of Posidonius [ ]  
 'Flavius Eudaemon, *officialis* [ ] xestai  
 'Ptolemaeus son of Eulogius [ ] xestai  
 'Flavius Crescentius [ ] xestai  
 'Macrobius son of Zoilus [ ]  
 'Apion son of Sarapion [ ]  
 'Hermias, former *praepositus* [ ]  
 'Flavius -batus [ ]  
 'Flavius Zenon, former *praepositus* [ ]  
 'Sarapias wife of Antiochus [ ]  
 (traces)  
 'Dionysodorus . . . [ ]  
 '-rasion [wife/daughter?] of Theodorus [ ]  
 'Timotheus, *officialis* (?) [ ]  
 'The- . . . [ ]  
 (damaged)  
 'Eutropion daughter of . . . [ ]  
 'Ge- [ ]  
 (trace) [ ]

(Back)

'Wine: 30,000 xestai . . .  
 'Meat: 15,000 lbs.' (corr. from 12,000+)  
 '7182 lbs.' (corr. from 5852)



'... 110(?) lbs.(?)  
'Total(?) ... lbs.(?)'

## Col. i

2 After Sarapion's father's name, the line may have run *βουλευτοῦ τῆς αὐτῆς* (probably abbreviated); cf. LX 4089 3, but this cannot be verified from the scanty traces.

3 For *ἀνωνῶν στρατιωτικῶν* cf. SB VI 9597.3.

3-4 Restoration here is difficult. We expect *τοῖς ὑπὸ* preceding the name of the commanding officer, the end of whose name is clear. A dubious possibility would be to read *στρατιωτῆ[κῶν τῶν]* at the end of 3, [*ὑπὸ*] at the start of 4. This is forcing the space at the end of 3, but *στρατιωτῆ[κ(ῶν) τῶν]* would avoid that difficulty.

7 The 6th indiction = AD 362/3.

8 *τῆς ἐμμελείας*. Cf. LX 4089, and 4602.

10-11 For *ὑποστάσεως* cf. 4599 2 n.

11 Contrast the way of indicating thousands here (and in 14) with that in the annotation on the back.

14 Deducting this figure of 9,350 *xestai*, being the contributions from [or collected by, in the case of official-looking entries in col. iii, cf. 4089?] municipal landholders, from the total (30,000 *xestai*) in 10 leaves 20,650 *xestai* as the villagers' contributions.

14 ]πε[. Or ]τε[.

## Col. ii

There are at least ten entries with women in this column. (4089 ii has 3 women in 10 entries.) On women as landowners see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants*, esp. 284.

1, 3-4 Elsewhere the women are specified as wife/daughter. It seems less likely that they were slaves acting on behalf of their masters.

9 Horion, secretary of the 4th pagus, recurs in PSI V 451. LX 4091 attests a secretary of the 1st pagus in 352.

13 It seems surprising that Dionysius is not qualified as Flavius. Cf. col. iii 9, 16.

16 [*Ἡροδ*]όστη ἢ καὶ *Καραποδώρα* is no more than a guess but could be a possible reading, suggesting a connection with LXIII 4368 4 where the same names may be linked by *ης* for *ῆ* (*καὶ*), see note ad loc. If so, then the date for 4368 may be rather later than that proposed ('c. 325-350?').

20 An amount of *xestai* to the right? Last trace τ? I am unsure which trace is the ζ.

The legible total is 3044 *xestai*, including 50 recognizable in col. i 15. At an average c. 200 per entry, the missing figures in col. ii might add 1000 or so, making the list in cols. i+ii total c. 4000, roughly half the municipal contributions; thus col. iii (where the quantities have all been lost) would nearly complete the list of municipal wine contributions. Note that the Flavius-entries in col. iii may represent larger contributions as in 4089 (33; see introd.).

## Col. iii

At least five women in this column.

6-7 For Crescentius and Macrobius see LX 4089 33 and n. (AD 352). Flavius Crescentius was a former *praepositus* (PSI I 90); Macrobius, his father Zoilus' name new information, had held a post in the *praeses*' office, and neither 4089 nor 4607 call him Flavius. For other Macrobi in the later fourth century see LXVI 4529 3 n.

9 Cf. col. ii 13; again, the omission of Flavius is surprising, and likewise in col. iii 16, if rightly interpreted.

15 The first name might be *Κοράσιον*. In the lacuna, *θυγάτηρ* is equally possible.

## Back

The docket offers a number of reading difficulties, notably the end of line 1. In 4 *λί(τραί)* is very uncertain, and transcribed ρ following could be φ. Also in 5 *λι(τραί)* is very uncertain, and could be Δ. Before it, I suspect that the intention might be *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, but I cannot verify it.

R. A. COLES

## 4608. UNDERTAKING TO DELIVER BARLEY TO ALEXANDRIA

119/27(b)

11.5 × 24 cm

362 (after 1 May)

A declaration to C. Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite (cf. the contemporary 4607 and the introd. to 4606-13 above) by a group of five(?) Oxyrhynchite councillors(?) functioning as *ἐπιμεληταὶ κριθῆς* that they have received 701 artabas of barley and loaded them on board a boat for delivery to Alexandria. Details of the boat are given in 12-14, in a large and different script (but different hand?) and possibly inserted into a space left blank; much the same applies to the rest of the texts of this group. In the present instance the large script is so faded as to give an initial impression of a deep blank space between lines 11 and 15.

On the back is a three-line docket giving the figure of 701 artabas (barley not stated here; cf. 4609), and then dividing it into municipal contributions (1 artaba) and villagers' contributions (700 artabas). 4609's contributions have a broadly similar ratio.

The date is 362 (consular formula, line 1), but after 1 May 362 because of the reference to the 6th indiction (= 362/3), line 7, and after that summer's harvest because the barley to be transported is produce from it.

This and the rest of the group 4609-13 all relate to transport to Alexandria, as far as can be determined; at any rate, there are no further references to Pelusium (4598-4606). For a possible chronological/dynastic explanation of this, see 4598-4605 introd.

The contorted hand of lines 1-11 is reminiscent of that of LIV 3746 (AD 319) and LXIV 4441 cols. ix-x (AD 315), and I do not discount the possibility of the same scribe being at work, in spite of the enormous interval. Since I think that 4611 (AD 363) col. i is the work of this scribe, this would result in a working life of not less than 49 years.

There is a manufacturer's three-layer kollesis after *Φλαουίου* in 1. 1.5 cm of vertical fibres (the back of the upper sheet) have, I think, been omitted in manufacture, not stripped after making the sheet, as is shown by the way a horizontal strip has folded over at line 2: the papyrus must have been wet for that to happen, the phenomenon being much less likely if vertical fibres were stripped from the finished sheet. Cf. 4611.

[*ὑπατείας Κλαυδίου*] *Μαμερτίνου καὶ Φλαουίου Νεβιέτ[τ]α* [*τῶν*

*λαμπροτάτων.*]

[*Γαίω* *Ἰουλίω* *Λευκαδίω* *στρατηγῶ* [*᾽Οξυρυγίτου*]

[*παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίων*] *Πέτρου Ἀγαθίνου καὶ Ἀμμωνίου Ἀπίωνος* [*καὶ x son*

of x]

[*καὶ Καραπίω*] *γος Πλουτάρχου καὶ Δωροθέου Ἀρσιγόου τῶν* [*πάντων*

*βουλευτῶν τῆς ᾽Οξυρυγικῶν πόλεως*]

5 [*ἐπιμελητῶν κριθῆς Ἀλεξανδρίας. ὁμολογοῦμεν ὅ* [*μνύντες τὸν σεβάκιον*

*θεῖον ὄρκον τοῦ*]



[δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιαν[υ]οῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου παρληφέν[αι καὶ  
 ἐμβεβλήσθαι εἰς τὸ ὑπο-]  
 [τεταγμένον πλοῖον ἀπὸ] γενήματος τῆς 55' ἰνδικτ[ίον]ος κρ[ιθῆ]ς [νέας  
 καθαρὰς ἀδόλου καὶ]  
 [ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐκτὸς πάσης] αἰτίας κατεσκευυίας μέτρον δημος[ίω  
 μετρήσει τῇ κελευθείσῃ]  
 [ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ἀρτάβας) ψα, τὸν δὲ γόμον] κατενυκούμεν ἐπὶ τὴν  
 λαμ[προτάτην] Ἀλεξ[ανδρ-]  
 10 [ c. 20 ] καὶ τῆς παραδόσεως ἄποχα γράμ[ματα]  
 [ἐπενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμψθῆναι]  
 [ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ θε]ίῳ ὄρκῳ.

(m. 2) [εἰς πλοῖ]ον ἰδιωτικὸν . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ . . . . . ] κυβερ[νήτου] τοῦ αὐτοῦ . . . . . [ . . . . . ]  
 [ αἰ (ροκείμεναι) τῆς κρ]ιθ(ῆς) (ἀρτάβαι) ψα οὐ ἐγ[γυητῆς]  
 . . . . . [ . . . . . ]

15 (m. 3) [Αὐρήλιος] Σαραπίων Πλουτάρχου συν[παραείληφα]  
 [ c. 9 ] ἐπτακοσίας μίαν καὶ [ . . . . . ]

Back ↓

1 (m. 4) (ἀρτάβαι) ψα  
 2 ὧν πολ(ιτών) (ἀρτάβη) α  
 3 κωμ(ητών) (ἀρτάβαι) ψ

5 1. Ἀλεξανδρείας 6 1. παρείληφέναι 8 1. καθεστηκυίας μέτρον 9 1. κατενεγκοῦμεν  
 λαμ[ ] 10 1. παραδόσεως γράμ[ ] 13 κυβερ[ ] 14 κριθ[ ] form of abbreviation of ἐγ[ ]  
 unclear 15 1. συνπαραείληφα

Back:

1 ⚭ 2 πολ⚭ 3 κωμ⚭?

‘In the consulship of Claudius Mamertinus and Flavius Nevitta, *virī clarissimi*.

‘To Gaius Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii Petrus son of Agathinus and Ammonius son of Apion [and x son of x and] Sarapion son of Plutarchus and Dorotheus son of Arsinoüs, all councillors of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, overseers of barley for Alexandria. We acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath by our master Julianus, eternal Augustus, that we have received and loaded on to the boat specified hereunder, from the produce of the 6th indiction, a total of 701 artabas of barley that is new, pure, free from guile and dry and clear of all blame, ascertained by public measure accord-

ing to the ordained method of measurement, and we will convey the cargo down to the most illustrious [?metropolis of] the Alexandrians . . . and that we will bring back receipts for the transfer so as to be blamed in nothing, or may we be liable to the consequences of the divine oath.’

(2nd hand) ‘On to a private boat . . . the steersman being the same . . . the aforesaid 701 artabas of barley: of which the guarantor . . .’

(3rd hand) ‘I, Aurelius Sarapion son of Plutarchus, have received jointly . . . seven hundred and one and . . .’

(Back) (4th hand) ‘701 artabas: of which, from metropolitans, 1 artaba; from villagers, 700 artabas.’

3 A Petrus, son of Agathinus, is attested in LXIII 4371 (c. 350).

3-4 The *ἐπιμεληταί* who appear in these texts 4606-13 are mostly attested more than once during the period 361-4, and seemingly indiscriminately with reference to wheat or barley. See the table in the introd. above to this group.

7 The 6th indiction = AD 362/3.

ἰνδικτ[ίον]ος. Only faint traces; the printed text is restoration rather than reading. The text might have run νέας ἰνδικτίονος, cf. 4606 8 and 4609 7.

9 ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ[προτάτην] Ἀλεξ[ανδρ]ειαν? Cf. e.g. XXXII 2347 8, XXIII 2673 24, P. Mich. XV 724.10, P. Vind. Sijp. 1.1.14. 4609 9 has just ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ[προτάτην] Ἀλεξ[α] [much as here. Or the longer form ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ[προτάτην] Ἀλεξ[ανδρ]έων μητρόπολιν; cf. 4612 9-10 where ἐπί is followed by the genitive. Note 4606 12 n.

10 For τῆς παραδόσεως ἄποχα γράμματα cf. XXXVI 2766 19, and also 4597 21. These γράμματα are exemplified by 4600-1 and 4603-5 above.

14 The first part of this line is hardly visible and only a little more visible with powerful image-enhancing equipment. I have transcribed what is expected, which is at least not contradicted by the traces.

15 The subscription is in the same hand I think as 4606 19 and 4612 17, but oddly different from that of Sarapion in 4613 16 — perhaps another Sarapion in that text, lost at the end of line 3 (although contrast 4613 4 n.)?

R. A. COLES

#### 4609. UNDERTAKING TO DELIVER WHEAT TO ALEXANDRIA

119/32(a)

11.5 × 26.5 cm

362 (after 1 May)

This is a fragmentary parallel to 4608, only the line-beginnings surviving here, although the lines were clearly of considerable length as the attested wording indicates. Three (at least) of the *ἐπιμεληταί* who feature here featured in 4608; here they undertake to deliver wheat, not barley. The date must be much the same, on precisely the same criteria, see 4608 introd. The indiction is described as ‘new’, line 7 (it might have been so described in 4608 also; see 7 n. there). For this expression see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 30-5. νέας occurs also in 4606 and 4612, and these texts provide solid evidence unavailable to Bagnall and Worp of the use of ‘new’ in connection with the indiction which has begun (contrast *ibid.* 34 top, but see now Worp in P. Kell. G. 30.1-2 n.). 4606 dates to Thoth, 4612 to Mesore. For 4608-9 all we can say is

that the date must be at least after 1 May and after the harvest; how late the presence of *νέα* will allow them to be, remains unclear.

The format is that familiar from the rest of the group, with details of the boat (12–14) written large but not necessarily by a different hand.

On the back is a 5-line docket, which gives the number of artabas involved (over 3000, not specified as wheat), which sum is then split according to municipal contributions (19, + fractions) and villagers' contributions (over 3000, a broadly similar ratio to **4608**), plus a third amount (67½) under the heading *ταμ(ιακῶν?)* (sc. *ἀνδρῶν*, cf. P. Turner 44.6 and n.; *ταμιακοὶ γεωργοί*, SB XVI 12814.9), cf. LX **4089** 24 and 53 and see also XLVI **3307** 14. This docket is in the same hand as that on the back of **4608**, and perhaps the dockets on the backs of **4611** and **4613** as well.

The preceding item in the *τόμος* has vanished, but perhaps left traces of its join to **4609** on the latter's surface.

ὑπατείας Κλαυδίου Μαμερτ[ίνου καὶ Φλαουίου Νεβιέττα τῶν  
λαμπροτάτων.]  
Γαίῳ Ἰ[ο]υλίῳ Λε[υκαδίου στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρυγίτου]  
παρὰ Ἀὐρηλίῳ Πέτρου Ἀγαθ[ί]νου καὶ *x* son of *x* καὶ *x* son of *x* καὶ  
Καραπίω-  
νος Πλουτάρχου καὶ Δωροθ[έου Ἀρσινόου τῶν πάντων βουλευτῶν τῆς  
Ἄξυρυγίτων πόλεως ἐπιμελητῶν]  
5 *κίτου Ἀλεξανδρίας. ὀμ[ο]λ[ο]γοῦμεν* ]  
*αἰωνίου Ἀγούστου παριλη[φέναι* ἀπὸ γενήματος τῆς ]  
*εὐτυχοῦς *ς* ναίας ἰνδικτί[ονος κίτου* καθε- ]  
*στηκότας μέτρῳ δημοσί[ω* κατενεγκοῦ- ]  
*μεν ἐπὶ τὴν λαμ[προτάτην] Ἀλεξ[ανδρ-]* ]  
10 *πλήρης καὶ τῆς παραδό[σεως ἄποχα γράμματα ἐπενεγκέιν εἰς τὸ ἐν*  
*μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχοι* ]  
εἴη μὲν τῷ θεῷ ὄρκῳ. [ ]  
(m. 2?) *εἰς πλ[οῖον] ἰδιωτικῶν [*  
*ἀπὸ τοῦ [Ο]ξυρυγίτου*  
*οὔ ἐγγυητῆς [*  
15 (m. 3) *Ἀϋ[ρήλ]ιος . . . . . [*  
*]. . . . . [*

Back ↓

(m. 4) (*ἀρτάβαι*) Γ[

ὄν  
πολ(ιτῶν) (*ἀρτάβαι*) ιθ . .  
κωμ(ητῶν) (*ἀρτάβαι*) Γςβ . . .  
5 *ταμ(ιακῶν?)* (*ἀρτάβαι*) ξζζ'  
1 ὑπατείας; initial *v* much enlarged 2 γαίω? 4 *νος* a correction (over initial *ι* and other  
traces unrecognizable) 5 l. Ἀλεξανδρίας 6 l. Ἀγούστου παριληφέναι 7 l. νέας  
7–8 l. καθεστηκότος 9 λαμ) 11 l. θείω paragraphus across full width of surviving papyrus  
12 πλ 14 ἐγγυητῆς?  
Back  
1 σ 3 πολσ 4 κωμσ 5 ταμσ (μ ligatured to artaba sign)

'In the consulship of Claudius Mamertinus [and Flavius Nevitta, *viri clarissimi*.]

'To Gaius Julius Leucadius, [strategus of the Oxyrhynchite,] from Aurelii Petrus son of Agathinus [and *x* son of *x* and *x* son of *x* and] Sarapion son of Plutarchus and Dorotheus [son of Arsinoüs, all councillors of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, overseers] of wheat for Alexandria. We acknowledge . . . eternal Augustus, that we have received [in wheat . . . from the produce of the] propitious 6th new indiction . . . ascertained by public measure . . . and we will convey [the cargo] down to the most illustrious [?metropolis of] the Alexandrians . . . in full, and [that we will bring back receipts] for the transfer [so as to be blamed in nothing, or] may we be [liable to the consequences of] the divine oath.'

(2nd hand?) 'On to a private boat . . . from the Oxyrhynchite . . . : of which the guarantor . . .'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius . . .'

Back (4th hand):

'3000[+] artabas.

'Of which:

'From metropolitans: 19 (+ fractions) artabas.

'From villagers: 3252 (+ fractions) artabas.

'From persons under the *fiscus*: 67½ artabas.'

1 The consular date has been written with a finer pen; whether it should be attributed to another hand is less clear. *K* of *Κλαυδίου* has been re-inked by the thicker pen of the text below. This could suggest that the sheet had been ready-prepared with the consuls. In 2 the analysis of the hand and pen is less clear. It is possible that the sheet was ready-prepared with the strategus as well as the consuls.

Back

The small sums amount to 338½ plus the fractions in lines 3–4, = 7λγς plus, and this needs to be lost from the lacuna in line 1.

## 4610. UNDERTAKING TO DELIVER BARLEY

119/38

14 × 26 cm

13 June 363

Presumably the delivery here was to Alexandria, although the statement to this effect has not survived (no doubt it came at the end of 10, and we would expect Alexandria to be named after *κριθῶν* in 6; cf. 4613). It is not clear how many *ἐπιμεληταί* functioned here. One of them, Serenus son of Eusebius, recurs in 4612 (same year, Mesore, but for wheat) and 4613 (364, for barley). Another is son of the well known former *curator civitatis* Flavius Julianus, for whom and for whose family see 4606 3 n., 16 n. with references. The son's name is restored here (4, 16) as Gennadius, largely on the basis of 4613 3 (where however his father is given as simply Julianus).

The amount to be delivered here is 3300 artabas; see 10 and 14. No doubt this amount was re-stated in a docket on the back, as in the others of this group, but only faint traces remain and nothing can be discerned except the figure 'Γ'. The boat being used for the transport was a private vessel belonging to the *procurator Heptanomia* (13) or to someone on his staff (depending on the reading of the middle of that line). This is a very late reference to that office, cf. R. Delmaire, *CRIPPEL* 10 (1988) 128, 138, and the holder at this period is not otherwise known. See also Delmaire, *Largesses sacrées et res privata*, 210.

[ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ] αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου τὸ δ' [καὶ  
 Φλαουίου Καλλουστίου τοῦ]  
 [λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραι]τωρίου, Παῦνι ιβ'.  
 [Γαίω Ἰουλίω Α]εκαδίων στρατηγῶ [Ἰουλιανῶν]  
 [παρὰ Ἀυρηλιῶν Γενναδίου] υἱοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ ἀπὸ λογιστ[ῶν] γ [ ]  
 5 [καὶ Ἰε]ρακῶ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ Σερήνου Εὐσεβίου καὶ Α. [ ]  
 [τῶν πάν]των βουλ[ευτῶν] τῆς Ἰουλιανῶν πόλεως ἐπιμελητῶν  
 [κριθῶν Ἀλεξανδρείας(?). ὁμολογοῦμεν ὀμνύντες  
 [τὸν σεβά]σιμον θίον ὄρκον τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ [αἰωνίου  
 Ἀυγούστου παρεληφέναι παρὰ]  
 [τῶν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγρα]μμένων καὶ ἐνβεβληθῆσθαι εἰς τὸ ὑποτεταγμ[ένον πλοῖον  
 ἀπὸ γενήματος τῆς x ἰνδικτιονος]  
 [κριθῆς νέ]ας καθαράς ἀδόλου καὶ ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐκτὸς πάσης [αἰτίας  
 καθεστηκυίας μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ]  
 10 [μετρήσει τῇ κελ]ευθίσει ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ (ἀρτάβας) Ἰ.τ' τὸν δὲ γόμον  
 κατεν[εγκοῦμεν ἐπὶ ]  
 [καὶ παραδῶ]σμεν εἰς τοὺς ἐκεῖσαι δημοσίους θησαυροὺς ἀριθμῶ  
 πλῆ[ρης καὶ τῆς παραδόσεως ἄποχα]  
 [γράμματ]α ἐπενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχοι [εἶημεν τῶ

θείω ὄρκω. ]  
 (m. 2) [εἰς πλοῖον ἰδι]ωτικὸν . . [ . . ] . . οὐς ἐπιτρόπου Ἐπτανο[μίας  
 [ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰουλιανῶν] γαίω καὶ π[ροκείμεναι] τῶν κριθῶν (ἀρτάβας) Ἰ.τ' οὐδ  
 ἐγ(γυνητῆς) [ ]  
 15 [ ] (vac.)  
 (m. 3) [Ἀυρηλιῶν Γενναδίου] υἱοῦ Ἰουλιανοῦ παρεληφέναι ἅμα τοῖς κ[ριθῶν]  
 [ c. 10 ] . . . . . καὶ παραδῶσμεν ὡς πρόκειται [ ]  
 (m. 4) [ c. 7 παρ]αδῶσμεν ὡς πρόκειται.

4 Ἰουλιανῶν 6 βουλ' 7 1. θεῶν Ἰουλιανῶν 8 1. ἐμβεβληθῆσθαι ὑποτεταγμένον  
 10 1. κελευθείσῃ α' 11 1. ἐκεῖσε 12 ἐπενεγκεῖν 14 αἰ? κριθ' (for the form cf. 4609  
 back 5) εγ' 16 Ἰουλιανῶν; 1. Ἰουλιανῶν

'In the consulship of our master Julianus, eternal Augustus, for the 4th time and Flavius Sallustius, *vir clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred praetorium, Payni 19.

'To Gaius Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelius Gennadius(?) son of Julianus former *curator* [and x son of x and] Hierax his brother and Serenus son of Eusebius and [x son of x], all councillors of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, overseers [of barley for Alexandria (?). We acknowledge, swearing the] august divine oath by our master Julianus, eternal Augustus, that we have received from those listed below and loaded on to the boat specified hereunder, from the produce of the nth indiction, a total of 3300 artabas of barley that is new, pure, free from guile and dry and clear of all blame, ascertained by public measure according to the ordained method of measurement, and we will convey the cargo down [to . . . and] we will transfer(?) it to the public granaries there, to the full amount, and that we will bring back receipts for the transfer so as to be blamed in nothing, or may we be liable to the consequences of the divine oath.'

(2nd hand) 'On to a private boat belonging to . . . procurator of the Heptanomia . . . from the Oxyrhynchite, the aforesaid 3300 artabas of barley: of which the guarantor . . .'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Gennadius(?), son of Julianus, have received jointly with my colleagues . . . and I will hand them over as aforesaid.'

(4th hand) ' . . . I will hand them over as aforesaid.'

4 For the restoration Γενναδίου see the introd.

6 κριθῶν. For the plural cf. 4613 5, and also 14 here.

7-8 παρὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐγγεγραμμένων (cf. 4613 7) should imply that a (summarized?) tabulated list under the headings *πολιτῶν* and *κωμητῶν* would have followed; cf. 4599, 4611-12. For this appendage as a regular part of texts of this type, see the introd. above to 4606-13. The *ἐπιμεληταί* did not of course receive the grain direct from the contributors, and indeed the *κωμητῶν* contributions in these lists are already summarized by village under the name of an agent; some of the personal names that appear under the *πολιτῶν* heading (frequently the names of officials) might also be those of collecting-agents rather than the original contributors.

10 The initial correction seems extreme; the writer's script may be a little contorted, but on the whole his



θη(αυροῦ) Κευώθ(εως) Ζευήρου Τούρβωνος απ . .  
 10 δι(ἀ) Φιλόνικου Ζωΐλου ἀ(ρτ.) ζ  
 κωμητ(ῶν)  
 ζ' πάγου Σεφῶ  
 ] . . . δι(ἀ) Παύλου Ἀμάειτος (ἀρτ.) Ἰρ[η]  
 55'' ἰνδικ(τίονος)  
 15 πολ(ιτῶν) Γερόντιος Παιανίου ἀ(ρτ.) ρ'  
 (γίνονται) ὁμοῦ χιρ(ιστικῶ) αἰ(προκείμεναι)  
 ὑπατίας τῆς προκ(ειμένης), Μεσορῆ . . .

Back

At top: (m. 3) κωμ(ητῶν) (ἀρτ.) Ἰρην  
 Down centre, → (m. 2) Ἰωσήπου Τιμοθέου

Col. i

6 λαμζ 7 λ. παραδόσεως

Col. ii

2 ὑποστασεως ᾱ (so in 10, 15) 5 πολ'' 6 ᾱ (so in 7, 8, 13) 7 βφ 9 θησ''κεωθ  
 10 δι' ζωΐλου 11 κωμητ' 13 δι' 1. Ἀμάειτος 14 ωδι'' 15 πολ' παιανίου 16 /  
 χιρ(ιστικῶ) 1. χιρ(ιστικῶ) 17 λ. ὑπατείας προκ

Back

κωμ̄? ᾱ

(Col. ii)

(2nd hand) 'As follows:

'Wheat, assessed on property, total art. 3650  
 'Thus:  
 '7th indiction.  
 'Citizens:  
 'Gerontius son of Paeanius art. 531  
 'Dionysius, former *beneficiarius* art. 3  
 'Ptolemaeus son of Colluthus art. 1  
 'Through the granary at Ceuothis, Severus son of Turbo, . . .  
 through Philonicus son of Zoilus art. 7  
 'Villagers:  
 '7th pagus, Sepho,  
 . . . through Paulus son of Amaïs art. 3108  
 '6th indiction.  
 'Citizens: Gerontius son of Paeanius art. 100.

'Total, together with giro-transfers, the aforesaid (artabas).  
 'The aforesaid consulship, Mesore x.'

(Back, 3rd hand)

'Villagers: art. 3750.'

(Back, 2nd hand, 90° from above docket)

'(From?) Josepus son of Timotheus.'

Col. i

1 Three lines, probably, have been lost above this: two for the consuls, and one for the address to the strategus.

10ν could in theory be the end of the address to the Oxyrhynchite strategus, but comparison with both the wording and line levels of the adjacent 4612 suggest that these letters belong to the sequence of names of the ἐπιμεληταί.

Col. ii

6 Cf. 15. I suppose this Gerontius may well be the son of the former *curator civitatis* Flavius Paeanius, in that office in 336 and strategus in 351–2; see P. Oxy. LIV pp. 227–8 and LX 4089 and 4091.

9 For the village Ceuothis see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchiute* 84.

At end, traces after απ are scanty; one or two letters may be followed by a raised letter or abbreviation-mark.

12 For the village Sepho see Pruneti op. cit. 176–7. Its location in the 7th pagus was already known.

13 The initial traces (possibly complete—i.e. delete the bracket—and ending with a deep descending diagonal) are a puzzle. They are aligned vertically with the beginning of κωμητ(ῶν) in 11, but do not quite align horizontally with the rest of 13. I do not think they are the end of a long line from col. i.

15 Beyond ρ' I think only an accidental blot.

16 For the expansion and interpretation of χιρ(ιστικῶ) (sc. πυρῶ) cf. XLIV 3169 introd. The reference here will be back to the seven artabas entered in 9–10, which I suppose represent a giro-transfer.

17 It is not clear if the day of the month is represented by two digits or by one digit and a numeral marker. An abraded λ (30th) is a possibility.

Back: it would be equally possible to read Ἰωσή του Τιμοθέου.

R. A. COLES

## 4612. UNDERTAKING TO DELIVER WHEAT TO ALEXANDRIA

119/92

36 × 26 cm

July/August 363  
Plates VI–VII

This item was originally attached on the left to 4611 in a τόμος συγκολλήσιμος. It is the most fully preserved of the group 4606 and 4608–13, despite its poor condition, and has provided much of the basis both for restoration in the other texts and for understanding the formal layout of these documents, including the 'boat description' section (here col. i 13–16) in its larger more formal hand and the presence of a second column listing in summary form the commodity to be delivered, the quantity and its source. Cf. 4611 introd. and the general introduction to 4606–13.

In this example five(?) Oxyrhynchite councillors, functioning as ἐπιμεληταί εἰτου

Ἀλεξανδρείας, swear to C. Julius Leucadius the Oxyrhynchite strategus that they will deliver 3750 artabas of wheat (approaching 50 tons) to the state granaries in Alexandria. The boat on to which they say they have already loaded the grain is a private vessel in interesting ownership, the property of an *a numeris* in the *officium* of the *dux*: see col. i 13 n. The itemized second column is in the same hand as the second column of **4611**. All the grain here derives from village contributions, all in fact from one village (Palosis) in the 8th pagus. On the back stood the usual docket, now badly abraded; there are parts of three and perhaps as many as five lines, but scarcely a letter is recognizable.

The ἐπιμεληταί swear an oath by the emperor Julian, who deceased a month or more before the date of the text. The date is assured by the consular formula for 363 (col. i 1-2), a reference to the 'new' 7th indiction (beginning 1 May 363), col. i 8, and the month Mesore (= July/August), day lost, in col. ii 10. These data were used for the restoration of the date of **4611**; see introd.

For the join that attached **4612** to **4611**, see also **4611** introd. The two are now separately framed, but the division is not quite at their original point of join; the blank overlapping right edge of **4611** remains affixed to the left margin of **4612** in the latter's frame. The horizontal measurement given above starts from the edge of **4611**, not from the left edge of the papyrus as now framed. Further sheet joins, both three-layer manufacturer's joins, are at the end of Τιμα[γ]ένης, i 19, and then again more or less at the line-ends of col. i (overrun by some lines, e.g. 18); the visible kollema width is 17.5 cm.

## Col. i

[ c. 7 ] occasional traces; c. 26 letters [ c. 11 ] Φλαουίω Καλ[λουστίου  
τ]οῦ λαμ[(προτάτου)] ἐπάρχου

- 2 [τ]οῦ ἐ[ε]ροῦ πραιτωρί[ο]υ  
3 [Γ]αίω Ἰουλίω Λευκαδίω [στρ]ατη[γ]ῶ [Ο]ξ[υ]ρυχ[ί]του  
4 [παρ]ὰ Ἀυρηλίων . . . [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ] καὶ Σ[ . . . ] . . .  
?Σ[ε]ρήνου καὶ Σερήν[ο]υ Εὐσεβίου καὶ  
5 [Α]μμωνίου Ἀπίωνος [κα]ὶ Σ[α]ραπίων[ος] Πλουτάρχ[ο]υ τῶ[ν]  
πά[ν]των βουλευτῶν τῆς Ὀξυρυχ[ι]τῶν πόλεως ἐπιμελ[η]τῶν  
6 [ε]ἰ[τ]οῦ Ἀλεξανδρείας. ὁμολογ[οῦμεν] ὡμν[ύ]ντες τῶν σεβάσμι[ο]ν θίον  
ῶρκον [τ]οῦ [δε]σπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιαν[ο]ῦ [α]ἰ[ωνίου]  
7 Ἀυγούστου παρὶληφέν[αι κα]ὶ ἐμβεβλήσθαι εἰς τὸ ἐξῆς ὑποτέτα[γ]μένον  
πλοίων ἀπὸ γενήματος  
8 τῆς εὐτυχούς ζ[ε] νέας [ε]ἰ[κ]ον[ος] ζίτου νέου καθαροῦ ἀκρίθου καὶ  
ἀβρόχου καὶ ἐκτὸς πά[σ]ης αἰτίας καθεστηκότος  
9 μέτρῳ δημοσίῳ μ[ε]τρῆ[σει] τῆ κελευσθί[σ]η ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρτάβας  
Ἰψν[ ]· τὸν δὲ γόμον κατενεγκοῦμεν ἐπὶ τῆ[σ]

- 10 [λ]αμ[προτάτης] Ἀλεξανδρ[ε]ω[ν] μ[η]τροπόλ[ε]ως εἰς [το]ὺς ἐκεῖσαι  
δημοσίους θησαυροὺς ἀριθμῶ πλήρης καὶ [τ]ῆ[σ]  
11 [πα]ραδ[ό]σεως . . . [ . . . ] τα ἐπενεγκ[ε]ῖν εἰς τὸ ἐν μηδενὶ  
μεμφθῆναι ἢ ἔνοχοι εἶημεν [τ]ῶ  
12 [θείω] ὄ[ρκω]. εἴ[στι] δ[έ]  
13 (m. 2) εἰς πλοίων ἰδ[ιω]τικὸν Θέωνος ἀγνούμερος τάξεως τοῦ κυρίω μου  
14 τ[ο]ῦ λαμ[προτάτου] δουκὸς [οὔ] κυβερ[νήτης] Ὄρος [ . . . ] . . . ἰος ἀπὸ  
Διοκλητιανοῦ πόλεως τῆς Θηβαῖδος  
15 αἰ [προ]κειμένοι τοῦ κύτου ἀρτάβας Ἰψν'' ο[ὗ] ἐγγυητῆς Μου[σ]ῆς  
. . . [ . . . ] . . . ἰος ἀπὸ τῆς [ . . . ] .  
16 πόλεως [ . . . ] . Ἀννιανοῦ τ[ρ]ιβούνου.  
17 (m. 3) Ἀυρήλιος Καρ[απίων] Πλου[τάρχ]ο[υ] συνπαρέληφα ἅμα τοῖς  
κοι[νω]νοῖς τὰς τοῦ κύτου καθαροῦ  
18 ἀρτάβας τ[ρι]χ[ιλίας] ἐπτακο[σ]ίας πενήκοντα μόν[α]ς καὶ  
συμπαράδωσα ὡς πρόκειται.  
19 (m. 4) Ἀυρήλιος Τιμα[γ]ένης συνπαρ[ε]λήφα ἅμα τοῖς κοι[νω]νοῖς καὶ  
συνπαράδωσα ὡς πρόκειται.

## Col. ii

- (m. 5) εἴ[στι] δ[έ]  
κύτου ὑποτέταξεως [ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀ(ρτ.) Ἰψν]  
οὔτως·  
ζ[ε]'' ἰνδικτίονος  
5 κωμητῶν  
η'' πάγου Παλώσεως δι(ὰ)  
Θέωνος καὶ του γκ. ι  
κ. ι. [ . . . ] . . . [ . . . ]ων [(ἀρτ.) Ἰψ[ν]]  
(γίνονται) αἰ [προ]κειμένοι.  
10 γυπατίας τῆς προκ[ε]ιμένης, [Μ]εσορή . . .

## Col. i

- 1 l. Φλαουίου 5 βουλ' οξυρυχ[ι]τῶν? ἐπιμελ[η]τῶν? 6 l. Ἀλεξανδρείας, ὡμνύντες τὸν,  
θεῖον ὄρκον 7 l. παρεληφέναι, πλοίων 9 l. κελευσθείη α<sup>σ</sup> 1. κατενεγκοῦμεν 10 l.  
ἐκεῖσε 11 Supralinear traces above end of παραδόσεως 13 l. ἀγνούμερος, κυρίου 14 λαμ[ ]''  
κυβερ[ ] θηβαῖδος 15 αἰ? α<sup>σ</sup> ἐγγυητῆς? 17 l. συμπαρέληφα κοτ 19 l. συμπαρέληφα  
κοτ 1. συμπαραδῶσα πρ

Col. ii

2 ὑποστασεως? 6 δι' 9 /αι? 10 ὑπατίας προ<sup>κ</sup> I. ὑπατείας

Col. i

'In the consulship of our master Julianus Augustus for the 4th time and Flavius Salustius, *vir clarissimus*, prefect of the sacred praetorium.

'To Gaius Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii . . . (son of) Serenus and Serenus son of Eusebius and Ammonius son of Apion and Sarapion son of Plutarchus, all councillors of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, overseers of wheat for Alexandria. We acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath by our master Julianus, eternal Augustus, that we have received and loaded on to the boat specified hereunder, from the produce of the propitious 7th new indiction, a total of 3750 artabas of wheat that is new, pure, free from barley and dry and clear of all blame, ascertained by public measure according to the ordained method of measurement, and we will convey the cargo down to the most illustrious metropolis of the Alexandrians, to the public granaries there, to the full amount and that we will bring back . . . for the transfer so as to be blamed in nothing, or may we be liable to the consequences of the divine oath. As follows:'

(2nd hand) 'On to a private boat belonging to Theon, *a numeris* in the *officium* of my lord the *dux, vir clarissimus*, of which the steersman is Horus son of -is from Diocletianopolis in the Thebaid, the aforesaid 3750 artabas of wheat: of which the guarantor is Moses son of . . . from the . . . city . . . Annianus, tribune.'

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapion son of Plutarchus, have received jointly with my colleagues the three thousand seven hundred and fifty artabas of pure wheat, exactly, and I will jointly hand them over as aforesaid.'

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Timagenes, have received (the artabas of wheat) jointly with my colleagues and I will jointly hand (them) over as aforesaid.'

Col. ii

(5th hand) 'As follows:

'Wheat, assessed on property	total 3750 artabas.
------------------------------	---------------------

'Thus:

'7th indiction:

'Villagers:

'8th pagus, Palosis, through Theon

and . . .

3750 artabas.

'Total the aforesaid.

'The aforesaid consulship, Mesore *x*.'

Col. i

1 Very scanty traces of the consular formula remain at the top edge of the papyrus in the first part of the line; I have been unable to assign them with certainty to particular letters. The expected but untranscribed part of the formula would be ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότητος ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ αἰωνίου Ἀυγούστου τὸ δ' καί.

3 The transcript does not display the format correctly: the elements of the address are spread out across the full width of the column.

4 I have failed to elicit the names of the declarants from the scanty and abraded traces in the first half of the line. The space seems rather long for name, patronymic, *καί* name before ?*Κε*]ρῆνου but not long enough for name, patronymic, *καί* name, patronymic, *καί* name. We do at least want *Τιμαγένους* (cf. his subscription in 19); he was son of Serenus (cf. 4613), but his name will not fit the traces before ?*Κε*]ρῆνου here. Although most of the declarants in 4606–13 appear more than once, it may be that we have at least one new name to contend with here.

10 Ἀλεξανδρ[ε]φ[ν]. The printed text is mere guesswork (but cf. [c]ί[τ]ο[v] Ἀλεξανδρία in 6). There are specks of ink over most of the length of the word, but apart from initial *Α* (and even that is not certain) not one can be assigned to any letter with certainty.

11 ἀποχα γράμματα is expected following *παρὰ δόσεως* (cf. 4608 10), but cannot be verified from the scanty traces.

12 ε[στι δ]ε. Not certainly present in any of the others of this group, except 4607, which is somewhat different. In 4613, uncertain slight traces in the gap between 10–11 may indicate that it might once have stood there; similarly in 4606 15.

13 For ἀννούμερος see J. R. Rca, *Tyche* 11 (1996) 192–3. 4612 is the papyrus referred to there on p. 193.

14 For Diocletianopolis see A. Calderini and S. Daris, *Diz. geogr.* ii. 106 and Suppl. ii. 44.

16 An Annianus, tribune, is attested in LXIII 4370 13 nearly ten years earlier as an Oxyrhynchite resident.

Col. ii

6 For the village Palosis see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* 134–5. Its location in the 8th pagus was already known.

7–8 End of 7 probably *καί*; but what precedes is problematical.

The beginning of 8 could suggest *κοινωνῶν*, but I cannot fit it to the traces beyond *κοιν* (and *ν* could be *ς*). Though *ων* is possible at the end, the rest of the traces require something wider.

8 ψ[ is expected, since there is only this entry to make up the total already (but less than reliably) supplied by the previous column (lines 9, 15, 18); nevertheless, it is not easy to read it, and ?*Τ*γ[ would be much easier.

R. A. COLES

## 4613. UNDERTAKING TO DELIVER BARLEY TO ALEXANDRIA

119/85

19.5 × 26 cm

Early 364

This, the latest of the group, is also the last evidence by name for a strategus of the Oxyrhynchite nome (see 4606–13 introd.). The declaration comes from five councillors of Oxyrhynchus functioning as *ἐπιμεληταὶ κριθῶν Ἀλεξανδρείας*. The first named of these (3), Gennadius son of Julianus, I suppose may be the younger son of that Julianus who had been *curator civitatis* in 329–31 (P. Oxy. LIV p. 226). I have restored Gennadius' name in 4610 4 and 16, and see also 4606 16 n.

The text formed part of a *τόμος συγκολλήσιμος*, with a heavy four-layer join on the left. No writing survives on the front of this preceding sheet, but there are scanty traces on its back. The format of 4613 is that now familiar from the earlier texts in this group, including the use of a larger script for the 'boat' section (lines 11–13), but the wording at line 9 is different and much shorter.

There is a three-layer manufacturer's kollesis at the right edge of the surviving sheet, the break largely coinciding with it.

On the back there are remains of a docket, at the foot (in terms of the front) and written the other way up.

ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου [

Γαῖω Ἰουλίω Λευκαδίω στρατηγῷ Ὀξυρρυχίτου  
παρὰ Αὐρηλίων Γενναδίου Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Σερήνου] Ε[ὐ]σεβίου κ[αὶ] x  
son of]

[...] καὶ Καραπίωνος Πλουτάρχου καὶ Τιμαγένους Σερήνου τῶν  
πάντων βουλευτῶν τῆς]

5 Ὁ[ξ]υρ[υ]χιτῶν πόλεως ἐπιμελητῶν κριθῶν Ἀλ[ε]ξαν[δ]ρείας.  
ὁμολογοῦμεν ὁμνύντες]

τὸν σεβάσιμον θῖον ὄρκον τ[ο]ῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ αἰωνίου  
Αὐγούστου παρειληφέναι]  
[πα]ρὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐνεγεγραμμένον καὶ ἐμβεβλήσθαι εἰς τὸ [ὑπο]τεταγμένον  
πλοῖον ἀπὸ]

γενήματος τῆς εὐτυχούς ζ' ἰνδικτίωνος . . . . . [

[...] πα]ραδοσίαις τοῖς κατὰ Ἀλεξάνδριαν . . . . . [

10 [...] μ[η]δὲν διεψεύσθαι ἢ ἔνοχοι εἴημεν τῷ θ[ε]ῷ ὄρκω.

(m. 2) εἰς πλ[ο]ῖον ἰδιωτικὸν Θέωνος Εὐσεβίου βουλ[ε]υτοῦ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀξυρρυχίτου αἰ[ε] π[ρο]κείμεναι τῶν κριθῶν ἀρτάβαι  
x οὐ ἐγγυητῆς ὁ προ-]

κ[ε]ῖμενος Θέων Ε[ὐ]σεβίου βουλ[ε]υτής [

(m. 3) [Αὐ]ρήλιος Σερήνος Εὐσεβίου παρείληφα [...] [

15 . . . α[ρ]τοσίαις πενήκοντα μόναις καὶ παραδώ[ω]

(m. 4) [Αὐ]ρήλιος Καραπίων συνπαρείληφα [

ὡς πρόκειται.

Back:

(m. 5) κριθῶν ζ' ἰνδικτίωνος

1 ν of Ἰουλιανοῦ corr. End of line badly abraded 2 γαῖω 3 l. Γενναδίου 4 l. Τιμαγένους  
6 l. θεῖον 7 l. ἐγγεγραμμένων 9 l. παραδοθείαις, Ἀλεξάνδρειαν 11 πλ? See note 12 οξ'αι?  
13 βουλ 16 l. συμπαρείληφα

Back: κριθ'

'In the consulship of our master Jovianus eternal Augustus [ . . .

'To Gaius Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, from Aurelii Gennadius son of Julianus and Serenus son of Eusebius and x son of x and Sarapion son of Plutarchus and Timagenes son of Serenus, all councillors of the city of the Oxyrhynchites, overseers of barley for Alexandria. We acknowledge, swearing the august divine oath by our master Jovianus, eternal Augustus, that we have received from the persons listed below and loaded on to the boat specified hereunder, from the produce of the propitious 7th indiction, . . . transferred to the . . . at Alexandria . . . and to have been deceitful in nothing, or may we be liable to the consequences of the divine oath.'

(2nd hand) 'On to a private boat belonging to Theon son of Eusebius . . . from the Oxyrhynchite, the aforesaid [x artabas] of barley: [of which the guarantor is the] aforesaid Theon son of Eusebius, councillor [

(3rd hand) 'I, Aurelius Serenus son of Eusebius, have received . . . x hundred and fifty, exactly, and I will hand them over [

(4th hand) 'I, Aurelius Sarapion, have jointly received . . . as aforesaid.'

Back:

(5th hand) 'Barley, 7th indiction.'

1 No month is preserved in the document, but that its date must be in the first few months of 364 is indicated by the oath by Jovian in line 6. Jovian died on 17 February 364 (D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle*<sup>2</sup> 326), and while his name was not then dropped from the consular formula, nevertheless the oath by him here must imply not necessarily that he was still alive but at any rate that news of his death was not yet known in Oxyrhynchus. Support for the early dating is supplied by the reference to the 7th indiction (= 363/4) in line 8, giving a *terminus ante quem* of 1 May 364. We should be able to discount the idea that the reference might be to the transport of arrears of grain from the past 7th indiction.

The post-consulate of 363 was in use on 15 February 364 (P. Kell. I 42). The consuls of 364 (Jovian and Varronianus) have been attested in three other papyri:

P. Mich. inv. 4008.1 (ed. *ZPE* 105 (1995) 245–52) (month and day unknown) [ὑπατεία]ς τῶν δεσποτῶν ἡμῶν  
Ἰουλιαν[ο]ῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου τὸ α[σ] // | [καὶ Ο]ὐαρρωνιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου

CPR X 1071.9 (26 July) ὑπατείας Ἰουλιανοῦ κ[αὶ] Οὐαρρωνιανοῦ [

P. Kell. I 32.17–28 (28 October) ὑπατείας Ἰουλιανοῦ καὶ Βαρωνιανοῦ | παιδὸς αὐτοῦ

The consulship has also been restored in P. Lips. 13 by G. Zuckerman, *ZPE* 100 (1994) 203–4 (= BL X 95), who has redated the text to 22 October 364. 4613 apparently had the same consular formula as P. Mich. inv. 4008 (where restore τ[ο]ῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν); the Michigan papyrus comes from the Small Oasis, adjacent to Oxyrhynchus, and may well attest Oxyrhynchite patterns. So the complete text should have read ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανοῦ αἰωνίου Αὐγούστου [τὸ α[σ] καὶ Οὐαρρωνιανοῦ τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου (month and day)]. Contrast this formula with the short versions in the later CPR X 107 and P. Kell. I 32 (and cf. P. Kell. I 42.28 n.), which must postdate the news of Jovian's death.

The odd PSI I 90, dated by the postconsulate of 363 on Phaophi 20 = 17 October 364, may reflect the political uncertainty of the period, see Zuckerman, loc. cit. 203.

2 The strategus' name is heavily inked, with staining especially at the beginning of *Λευκαδίω*, but is not obviously a correction or even re-written. Has it been added in? End of line badly abraded.

3 *Σερην-* seems assured despite the abrasion. We then expect *Εὐσεβίου* (cf. Serenus' subscription in 14), and I have transcribed accordingly, but the interpretation of the traces that this entails is highly subjective.



4 [...] . . . .ς. [A]πίτωρος is a possibility, being the father of Ammonius who occurs as an ἐπιμελητής in **4608** and **4612** above, but the surface is too abraded for this to be any more than a guess.

7 [πα]ρὰ τῶν ἐξῆς ἐνγεγραμμένον (l. ἐγγεγραμμένων) implies that a tabulated list under the headings πολιτῶν and κωμητῶν followed; cf. **4611–12**. **4610** 8 probably had the same expression. For this appendage as a regular part of texts of this type, see the introd. above to **4606–13**.

8 γενήματος is expected, but the ductus can hardly be followed. The sequence ΜΑΤ is particularly difficult. The 7th indiction = 363/4.

At the end it might continue ΚΡΙΘΣ Ε? for κριθ(ή)ς ἐ(πι) τὸ αὐτό or ἐ(πι) τὸ αὐτό) but that is mere conjecture. The abbreviation elsewhere is ΚΡΙΘ'.

11 πλ(οίου). Cf. the app. crit.; the form of the abbreviation is unclear. There is scanty unexplained ink slightly below the line beyond supposed λ, which may form part of the abbreviation.

Theon son of Eusebius was former prytanis by 370: XVII **2110** 30.

16 Aurelius Sarapion: see **4608** 15 n.

Back: more is expected below this—at least a note of the quantity of artabas involved in the transaction (cf. lines 8, 12, 15)—but not a trace is visible. The hand may be the same as that of the dockets on the backs of **4608**, **4609**, and **4611**.

R. A. COLES

#### 4614. DOCUMENT (PETITION?) ADDRESSED TO FLAVIUS STRATEGIUS I

105/16(a)

16 × 10.3 cm

Late fifth century

The top of a document addressed to Flavius Strategius I. It bears no date, but Strategius' titlature is partially the same as in P. Flor. III 325, of 20 May 489, see further 1 n., so the two documents should be near contemporary. It is earlier than XVI **1982**, of 497, since by that time Strategius was *comes domesticorum*. **4614** and P. Flor. III 325 provide the earliest evidence for his life and career.

A further point of interest is that this is the earliest text to show that Strategius I held the ripariate of Oxyrhynchus; P. Harr. inv. 550a attests him in the same capacity at a later date, 503 or 518. Strategius also appears as *riparius* of Heracleopolis in CPR XIV 48, of 506. The issue will be discussed in more detail in the publication of P. Harr. inv. 550a, forthcoming in *ZPE*.

Too little survives for the nature of the text to be determined, but the mention of Strategius' riparial office and his deputy suggests that it is a petition. For a discussion of petitions to *riparii* see P. Köln V 234 introd.

The back is blank, so far as it is preserved.

Φλ(αουίω) στρατηγίω τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ πολ(ιτενομένῳ) καὶ  
 ῥιπ[α]ρ[ί]ω τῆς Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν)  
 διὰ Θεοδώρου ὑποκαταστ(άτου) καὶ διαδόχ(ου)  
 παρὰ Αὐρ(ηλίας) Τιαρίης ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
 [πόλεω]ς [ c. 4 ]. [ c. 4 ]. [ c. 6 ]. [ c. 4 ]. [ c. 3 ] . . .

1 φλ) λαμπρ πολ) 2 υποκαταστ) διαδοχ) 3 αυρ)

'To Flavius Strategius, *vir clarissimus* and *curialis* and *riparius* [of the city of the Oxyrhynchites], through Theodorus, substitute and deputy, from Aurelia Tiaria, from the same city . . .'

1 Φλ(αουίω) στρατηγίω. This person is commonly called Fl. Strategius I. But the recent discovery of an older member of the family with this name suggests that it is the latter who should be called Fl. Strategius I. Although the ultimate proof is still missing, he was almost certainly the grandfather of our Strategius. A strong argument in favour of the ancestry is the full name of Apion II as it appears in his consular diptych: Fl. Strategius Apion Strategius Apion. These names probably commemorate his descent: 'Apion, son of Strategius, grandson of Apion, great-grandson of Strategius'; cf. D. Feissel, I. Kaygusuz, *T&MBz* 9 (1985) 403 n. 17, and B. Salway, *JRS* 84 (1994) 141 n. 109, cf. 141–3 on the 'new Roman polyonymy' (but both notes rely on the erroneous data of *PLRE*; see **4615** 4 n.); cf. also J. Gascou, *T&MBz* 9 (1985) 63 with n. 355, and D. Feissel in J. Diethart, D. Feissel, J. Gascou, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 27 and n. 66.

τῷ λαμπροτάτῳ καὶ πολ(ιτενομένῳ) καὶ ῥιπ[α]ρ[ί]ω. For the collocation cf. CPR IX 36.3–4 (487/8) τῷ λαμ-  
 προτάτῳ καὶ αἰδεσίμῳ πολ(ι)τενομένῳ; P. Amh. II 146 = M. Chr. 76.1 (V) Ἡρακλάμμωνος λαμπροτάτου καὶ  
 ῥιπαρ(ίου); P. Flor. III 343.1–2 (V) Ἀνδρέας λαμπροτάτος | καὶ πολιτενομένος τῆς Ἐρμουπολ(ιτῶν); also P. Flor.  
 III 325.2 (see below).

λαμπροτάτῳ. The papyrus confirms the restoration of Strategius' name in P. Flor. III 325.2 by O. Hornickel, *Ehnen- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrusurkunden* (1930) 11 n. 2 (= BL VII 53): [Φλ(αουίω) στρατηγίω τῷ ἐνδο]ξοτάτῳ  
 [καὶ] πολ(ι)τενομένῳ. The juxtaposition of ἐνδο]ξοτάτῳ and πολ(ι)τενομένῳ would appear to cause a problem  
 (for an attempt at an explanation see A. Laniado, *CE* 72 (1997) 139–40), but the papyrus has λαμπροτάτῳ. Prof.  
 R. Pintaudi, who kindly examined the original at my request and supplied a photocopy of the papyrus, writes:  
 'il ρ per quanto rovinato è ben riconoscibile e quindi λαμπροτάτῳ è sicuro' (letter of 13.7.1998); cf. also τῆ ὑμῶν  
 λαμπρότητι, applied to Strategius in line 7 of the same document.

By that date (489) the rank of *vir clarissimus* was not as elevated as in earlier times, but it 'was still hereditary, the sons of all three [senatorial] classes being entitled to it' (A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii. 529). For other fifth-century *clarissimi* see A. Arjava, *Tyche* 6 (1991) 22–24.

πολ(ιτενομένῳ). The family was of curial origin. The earlier Strategius (see above) appeared as a *πολιτενομενος*  
 of Oxyrhynchus in L **3584**, and may be the same person as the *πολιτενομενος* of P. Heid. IV 314.6, and possibly  
 P. Mil. II 64 (441); see LXIII **4389** 1 n. The family continued to perform its curial duties in Oxyrhynchus at the  
 time of its apogee, cf. SB XII 11079 (571).

ῥιπ[α]ρ[ί]ω τῆς Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν). Considerations of space suggest that the name of the city was abbreviated.  
 For the supplement cf. P. Mil. II 45.3 (449), SB XVIII 13596.3 (464), XVI **1877** 15 (c. 488); P. Gron. Amst. 1.2 (455)  
 and SB XVIII 13127.3 (V/VI) add πόλεως after Ὀξυρρυχιτῶν. ῥιπ[α]ρ[ί]ω Ὀξ(υρρυχιτῶν) seems less likely, since  
 the collocation last occurs in P. Scl. 8.3, of 421.

2 Θεοδώρου ὑποκαταστ(άτου) καὶ διαδόχ(ου). The same individual also appears in P. Flor. III 325.3 διὰ Θεο-  
 δώρου ὑποκαταστάτου. His second title here, διαδόχ(ου), is explained by Strategius' tenure of the riparial office:  
 Theodorus was Strategius' deputy in issues related to the discharge of this civic *munus*. The purport of the other  
 title, ὑποκαταστ(άτου), is less clear. It must be the genitive of (i) ὑποκαταστάτης, or (ii) ὑποκατάστατος. In view  
 of their different verbal aspect, it is not easy to take the two words as equivalent, although they both refer to  
 someone substituting for someone else. (i) occurs only in P. Lips. 55.9–10 (375–79) ἐπιμελητήν ἦτοι (cf. BL I 209)  
 ὑποκαταστάτην Ἀπολλωνίου Ἡρωνος. Mitteis, the editor of this papyrus, notes that this man 'ist jedenfalls der  
 Ersatzman, für einen durch Tod oder auf andere Weise in Wegfall gekommenen Liturgen', an explanation which  
 would have no bearing on our text. LSJ Rev. Suppl. s.v. translate 'assistant καταστάτης', which seems pure guess-  
 work. (ii) is somewhat better attested:

(i) G. Goetz, *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* ii. 466.29 Ὑποκαταστατος substitutus subrogatus || subrogatus  
 iudex'.

(2) CChalc. act. 14 (ACO 2.1.3 p. 83.16) referring to someone who will 'substitute' in a bishopric (cited by G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* 1449, who renders 'substituted').

(3) Just. Nov. 22.44.9 referring to someone who will 'substitute' as heir if the primary heir declines (cited by LSJ Rev. Suppl. 302).

In Roman law a *substitutus* is usually an alternative heir (see *RE* s.v.), and this is the sense of *ὑποκατάστατος* in (3); but this does not seem appropriate in this context. What (1)–(3) have in common is the concept of filling a position when the primary holder is not available.

Theodorus seems to have acted regularly as Strategius' representative in transactions at that time. One might compare his function to that of the *oiketes* Menas, who occurs from 523 onwards (see 4616 4–6 n). But in the period that separates Theodorus from Menas, Strategius appears in the contracts without intermediaries (XVI 1982 of 497, LXVII 4615 of 505). I wonder whether the presence of Theodorus is related to Strategius' young age: a man who died some time between 542 and 543 (see LXIII 4396 introd. para. 1), must have been very young, perhaps even a minor, in 489. We may here recall the formulation of P. Lips. 55, *ἐπιμελητὴν ἤτοι ὑποκαταστάτην*. In Greek *ἐπιμελητής* occasionally renders *curator*; see H. J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (1974) s.v.; and orphan minors may have *curatores* to look after their property (but I have not found an example from papyri of *ἐπιμελητής* in this meaning). They may also have *tutores*; and *substitutio*, normally the appointment of an alternative heir, may also denote the appointment of an alternative *tutor* (see *OLD* s.v. 2). In other words, lexically we may not be far from the world of minors (on these issues see B. Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 306 n. 39 with references; A. Arjava, *ZPE* 126 (1999) 202–4); but Strategius, even if he were a minor, was not an orphan. Could it be that for some unknown reason Apion I had to leave the administration of the whole or part of his Oxyrhynchite estate to his son, who, however, was under-age, and unable fully to discharge this function in person? But we have no evidence that Apion had an estate in the area of Oxyrhynchus (XVI 1886, referring to a *defensor civitatis* named Fl. Apion, is too uncertain to be useful). On the other hand, it is likely that early in his life Strategius was in control of an estate and liable to the curial duties on it. I have little doubt that Strategius I was the grandson of Strategius, *comes consistorii* (see above, 1 n. para. 1). The latter is certain to have had an estate in the region; his 'daughter and heir' Flavia Isis appears as a landowner in LXIII 4390, of 469. For what it is worth, I wonder whether (a part of) the property of the early Strategius passed to his grandson upon his death. (This would mean that 'Strategius I' was born before 469.) But why is Apion I absent from the picture? Palme, *ZRG* 115 (1998) 289 ff., has shown that the legislation gave ample opportunity to a father to keep his possessions away from his daughter's husband, if he did not have a son, after his death. We could imagine that something similar happened with Strategius and Apion, and Theodorus functioned as the substitute of Strategius, still under-age, in all important transactions. There is no need to assume that Apion was a son of the early Strategius and brother of Flavia Isis (he could have been her husband!). But, needless to say, all this is very speculative, and no more than a working hypothesis.

3 *Τιμήρις*. The name appears to be new. But cf. P. Ryl. IV 683.1 (244) *Τιώρις*.

N. GONIS

#### 4615. LEASE OF LAND

56 1B.25/55 (a)

22 × 11.2 cm

3 September 505

The lessor in this document is Flavius Strategius I, but the chief point of interest is the mention of his father, Apion I, in the capacity of former praetorian prefect. Apion's tenure of this office was hitherto known only from the literary sources: see below 4–5 n.

The papyrus breaks off just before the object of the lease was stated; to judge from the wording, this was probably a *μηχανή*, literally an irrigation machine, but in this context an artificially irrigated unit of cultivation. For this class of documents see the introductions to

LV 3803, LVIII 3955, LXIII 4390; a further new example is P. Palau Rib. inv. 24 (502/3) (ed. S. Daris, *Emerita* 64 (1996) 291).

The number of land leases in the 'Apion archive' is extremely small. J. Gascou, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 9 n. 29 knew of only two instances, P. Flor. III 325 and XVI 1968, both of which he regarded as doubtful—but the Apion connection of P. Flor. 325 has now been established; see 4614 1 n. There have since been two accretions: LXIII 4390 (469), which features Flavia Isis, a daughter of Fl. Strategius, *comes consistorii*, and 4615. We may also note that the number of Oxyrhynchite land-leases of the Byzantine period is a mere fraction of the figures available from the Arsinoite or Hermopolite regions; the phenomenon is further discussed in *Tyche* 15 (2000) (forthcoming).

A further interesting detail is that this is the first land lease in which the lessee is stated to be an *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*.

The script closely resembles, but is probably not the same as, that of XLVII 3355 (535).

The back, to the extent that it survives, is blank.

χμγ

[† ὑπα]τεία Φλ(αουίων) Καβ(υ)ιανού και Θεοδώρου τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων Θῶθ  
ς // ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ἰδ.  
[Φλ]αυῖω Στρατηγίω τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ και ἐνδοξοτάτῳ κόμετι  
τῶν καθοσιωμένων  
[δομ]εστικῶν υἱῷ τοῦ <τὰ> πάντα πανευφήμου και ὑπερφυεστάτου ἀπὸ  
ὑπάτων και ἐπάρχων  
5 [ c. 7 ] υ [A]πίων[ος] γεουχοῦντι ἐν τῇ λαμπρᾷ και λαμπροτάτῃ  
Ἰξυρυχιτῶν πόλει.  
[Aύρήλιος c. 6 ] .ος υἱὸς Πατενυφίου μητρὸς Θεοδοσίας ἐναπόγραφος  
γεωργὸς τῆς  
[ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρεπ]είας ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ αὐτῆς κτήματος καλουμένου  
Μονίμου  
[τοῦ Ἰξυρυγίτου] νομοῦ χαίρειν. ὁμολογῶ παρεληφέναι παρὰ τῆς ἡμῶν  
[μεγαλοπρεπείας και] μεμισθῶσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστώτος ἔτους ρπβ ρνα τῆς  
10 [παρούσης τεσσαρε]εκαδεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος σπορᾶς και συνκομιζῆς  
καρπῶν  
[τῆς σὺν θεῷ πεντ]εκαδεκάτης ἐπινεμήσεως ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων  
[τῇ ὑμῶν μεγαλοπρεπ]ε[ε]ία] διακειμένων ἐμ πεδίοις τοῦ ὑμετέρου  
κτήματος  
]ης[ . . . ] .νω[ . . . ] . . .

2 φλλῆ ἰνδλ 3 Ι. καθωσιωμένων 4 υἱὸν ὑπερφυστάτου ὑπάτων 6 υἱος  
8 Ι. ἰμῶν 10 ἰνδικτιονος Ι. κυκομηδῆς 11 ὑπαρχόντων 12 Ι. ἐν

'In the consulship of Flavii Sabinianus and Theodorus, *virī gloriosissimi*, Thoth 6, indiction 14.

'To Flavius Strategius, *magnificentissimus et gloriosissimus comes devotissimorum domesticorum*, son of the in all matters most renowned and most extraordinary consular and former prefect . . . Apion, landowner in the splendid and most splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, [Aurelius] . . . os, son of Patenuphis, mother Theodosia, registered farmer of your magnificence, originating from your possession called Monimu of the Oxyrhynchite nome, greetings. I acknowledge that I have received from your [magnificence and] taken on lease from the present year 182/151 of the current fourteenth indiction, for the sowing and the collection of crops of the [God willing] fifteenth epinemesis, from the property belonging to your magnificence situated in the territory of your possession . . .'

1 χμγ. On this Christian symbol of disputed significance see most recently P. Hamb. IV 266.1 n. with references. Its earliest attestation seems to be P. Kell. IV 96.1 (= *The Kellis Account Book*), dating from 361–64 or 376–79. Cf. also A. Di Bitonto Kasser, *Aegyptus* 78 (1998) 123–29.

2 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 85, 96. For the consulship see R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 545, and P. Heid. V 357 introd.

3–4 Strategius has the same titulature in XVI 1982, of 497, and P. Harr. inv. 550a (see 4614 introd.), of 503/518. In CPR XIV 48.2 (506), which has *στρατηγίῳ τῷ μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτ[άτῳ]*, it is possible that *κόμητι τῶν καθωσιωμένων δομειτικῶν*, probably abbreviated, followed in the break.

*μεγαλοπρεπεστάτῳ καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ*. For the epithets see R. Delmaire, *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 157–61. *κόμητι τῶν καθωσιωμένων [δομ]ετικῶν*. On this office, titular by this time, see Delmaire, loc. cit. 148–53, 175, and B. Palme, *Eirene* 34 (1998) 104–16, citing further literature on p. 110 n. 29. The conferring of the *comitatus domesticorum* raised someone to the rank of *vir illustris*, and so enabled him to be a member of the senate. The *comitatus* is intimately connected with state or imperial service, especially in the East. On present evidence, Strategius' *comitatus* seems to have had no link with the tenure of a public office. We should also bear in mind that he must have been young, cf. 4614 2 n. But 'illustrious fathers naturally petitioned the emperor to give the same rank to their sons, and the emperor was gracious to youths of illustrious parentage' (A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* ii. 529). This may well apply to Apion I and Strategius too. We know of two other young *comites domesticorum*, but both were consuls: Venantius (cos. 507), and Apion II (cos. 539); this may have been the case with the consuls of 527 and 541 too.

4–5 The titles and offices of Apion I in the papyri may be presented in chronological order:

P. Flor. III 325 (Oxy.; 20.5.489)	ὑπερφυστάτου
SB XVIII 13953 (Hera.; 17.6.492)	ἐνδοξοτάτου καὶ ὑπερφυστάτου
SPP XX 129 (Hera.; 4.2.497)	ἐνδοξ(οτάτου) καὶ ὑπερφυστάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
XVI 1982 (Oxy.; 1.10.497)	ὑπερφυστάτου καὶ πανευφήμου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων
LXVII 4615 (Oxy.; 3.9.505)	πανευφήμου καὶ ὑπερφυστάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπάρχων [

J. R. Martindale, *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire* ii. 111 has suggested that Apion 'presumably acquired the consulship between 492 and 497'. This relies on the lack of a reference to the office in SB VI 9152 = XVIII 13953. But I doubt whether this is conclusive, since his epithets there, *ἐνδοξότατος καὶ ὑπερφυστάτος*, could well apply to a man of consular rank, cf. SPP XX 129.2 (cited above); compare also the case of his son Strategius in 4616 and elsewhere (see 4616 2–3 n.), who is styled *ἐνδοξότατος καὶ ὑπερφυστάτος magister militum*

and *ex consulibus*. (In P. Flor. 325.2–3 Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate* 11 n. 2, restored *τοῦ ὑπερφυστάτου ἀπὸ ὑπάτ(ων) Ἀπίωνο[ς]*, but this is not certain.)

The texts listed above may be taken to suggest that in the course of 497 there was a change in Apion's titulature, with the epithet *ἐνδοξότατος* being replaced by *πανευφήμος*. This might represent an increase in dignity, but no further titles are mentioned, and the details are obscure. However, it is perhaps more likely that the change simply reflects local variations of the formulaic protocol, Heracleopolis as against Oxyrhynchus; for a somewhat similar case concerning the titulature of Strategius Paneuphemos see B. Palme, *Chiron* 27 (1998) 101.

4 ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἐπάρχων. This is the first occurrence of the collocation in papyrus.

ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. For the honorary consulship see Jones, op. cit. 533.

ἀπὸ . . . ἐπάρχων. Cf. John Malalas, *Chron.* (SHB) 398 καὶ ἐπεστράτεψε κατὰ Περσῶν ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀναστάσιος βασιλεὺς, πέμψας . . . καὶ τὸν πατρίκιον Ἀπίωνα, ποιήσας αὐτὸν ἑπαρχὸν τῶν πραιτωρίων Ἀνατολῆς. Apion probably was *praefectus praetorio Orientis vacans*, and in this capacity in charge of the army supplies in Anastasius' abortive Persian campaign of 503; see E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire* ii. 95 n. 2, 783; E. R. Hardy, *DOP* 22 (1968) 29; Martindale, *PLRE* ii. 111; J. Gascou, *T&MB* 9 (1985) 62 n. 344; G. Greatrex, *Rome and Persia at War, 502–32* (1998) 96, 109. He was out of office in May 504 (see Gascou, op. cit. 62 with nn. 345–6), that is, more than a year before the date of our papyrus. (He had a brief spell as PPO *in actu* shortly after his return from exile in 518.)

It may be useful to note that 4615 confirms the identity of the Apion and Strategius of XVI 1982 with those attested in the literary sources, in view of the two separate entries in *PLRE*: Apion 1 and 2 (ii 110–11), and Strategius 8 and 9 (ii 1034–36). The distinction has already been contested by Gascou, op. cit. 61 n. 343, 63 n. 355, but is maintained by R. Delmaire, *Les responsables des finances impériales au Bas-Empire romain* (1989) 262. It is clear that the Apion and Strategius of XVI 1982 are the same men as those of 4615, while the latter two are the same as the father and the son who held senior administrative posts later.

5 I am not sure how to restore the lacuna at the start of the line. [*πραιτωρίῳ*]ν seems unlikely: it is rather long for the space, and in papyrus and inscriptions former or honorary praetorian prefects are usually styled as *ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων* only — I Crct. 317.3–4, 318.3–4 (both 381–4) *ἀπὸ ὑπάτων καὶ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων πραιτωρίου (-ίων)* appear to be exceptions. A supplement [*Φλαουῖο*]ν likewise has few attractions, given that Apion's *gentilicium* is not mentioned at this point in XVI 1982 5. A possibility which ought to be considered is [*πατρικίῳ*]ν; Apion was *patricius* at this date; cf. the passage from Malalas cited above.

*γεουχοῦντι ἐν τῇ . . . Ὀξυρυχιτῶν πόλει*. See 4616 3–4 n.

6 Πατενοφίον. The name, a version of the relatively common Petenuphis, is not attested elsewhere in this form. For the interchange of *a* and *e* in unaccented syllables see F. T. Gignac, *Grammar* i. 279.

*ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*. See J.-M. Carrié, *Atti XVII Int. Cong. Pap.* (1984) 939–48; I. F. Fikhman, *AnPap* 3 (1991) 7–17; J. Banaji in A. K. Bowman and E. Rogan (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times = PBA* 96 (1999) 206 ff. The term is also discussed by many of the contributors to E. Lo Cascio (ed.), *Terre, proprietari e contadini dell'impero romano: dall'affitto agrario al colonato tardoantico* (1997). See also 4616 7 n.

7 τοῦ αὐτῆς κτήματος καλουμένου Μονίμου. Until the end of the third century Monimu is attested as an *εποίκιον* situated in the upper toparchy, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchi* (1981) 107. Thereafter it disappears from the papyri until it resurfaces in the sixth century. Here it is said to be part of the Apion holdings, but in XVI 2020 14, a text assigned to the 580s (see Gascou, op. cit. 48), it appears to be under the *domus divina*. If we are dealing with the same locality, it would seem that in the time that separates the two documents *Μονίμου* passed from the *domus gloriosa* of the Apions to the imperial *domus divina*: a change of ownership, or one of fiscal responsibility? In this context, it may be worth recalling the definition of *κτῆμα* in P. Wash. Univ. I 25.7–8 (530): *κτῆμα(τος) τῆς ἡμῶν μεγαλοπρεπείας | ἦτ[οι] τοῦ αὐτῆς μέρους τούτο[υ] τοῦ Ὀξυρυχιτῶν νομοῦ*; for the significance of the terms *μερίδες*, *μέρη*, *μοῖραι*, and their connection with liturgical and fiscal duties, see Gascou, op. cit. 40 ff., and J. Gascou and P. J. Sijpesteijn, *ZPE* 97 (1993) 119–21. Whichever may be the case, the phenomenon is not isolated in the Oxyrhynchite documentation of the period; see Gascou, op. cit. 77 (note on XXVII 2479). Another such example is perhaps to be seen in the *μηχανή* called *Τοῦ Λάκκου*: assuming that the reference is to the same irrigated farm, we see it under the *domus divina* around 549 (P. Col. inv. 83, ed. *ZPE* 120 (1998) 124), but apparently under the Apions a few decades later (LXVI 4537).

Although Monimu is not described as an *εποίκιον* here, there is no reason to assume that it was not one; in such contexts the terms *κτημα* and *εποίκιον* are equivalent: see E. R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (1931) 132–3, and I. F. Fikhman, *Oxirinkh—gorod papirusov* (1976) 72 n. 84.

8–9 *όμολογώ παρεληφέναι . . . μεμειθώσθαι*. The clause is relatively rare. I have found it with the infinitives in the reverse order in P. Abinn. 63.18 (350); P. Wash. Univ. I 17.10–11 (514); P. Bad. VI 172.9–10 (547); and it may be restored in P. Lond. V 1797.9–10 (516, cf. BL VII 92) *όμολογώ παρεληφέναι π[α]ρά τής | [τής σοφίας και μεμειθ]ώσθαι ( . . . ) , cθαι ed. pr.*

9 Oxyrhynchite era year 182/151 corresponds to 505/6; see Bagnall and Worp, *Chronological Systems* 85.

10 *σποράς και συνκομιζής (l. -δής) καρπών*. At this point earlier texts have *σποράς* alone: P. Mich. XI 611.7 (412), P. Oslo II 35.10 (426), VI 913 8 (443), LXIII 4390 7 (469) (LV 3803 10 (411) is broken at this point). P. Flor. III 325.6 (489) offers *συλλογής καρπών*, while P. Berl. Zill. 7.10–11 (574) has *κατασποράς δε και | συλλογής καρπών. συνκομιζής (l. -δής)*. For the interchange δ > ζ see Gignac, *Grammar* i. 76.

10–11 In conformity with the Oxyrhynchite pattern, the lease is to start in autumn, but the crops (and the taxes) are calculated on the basis of the *praedeleatio*, beginning 1 May, see Bagnall and Worp, *op. cit.* 26–7. A further example occurs in the recently published P. Palau Rib. inv. 24. Lines 2–3 of that text were edited thus:

ἔτους] ροθ ρμη τῆ[ς πα]ρούσης δε[κάτης ἰνδικτίονος  
]της ἐπινεμῆ[σεως] τὰς δ[ιαφερούσας

The editor notes that year 179/148 (= 502/3) coincides with an eleventh indiction and not with the tenth mentioned in the papyrus, and refers to a similar discrepancy in XVI 1986 = SB XII 11231, of 549, where, however, the number of the following *epinemesis* is correct. If the era year is correct (which is likely; cf. R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *BASP* 17 (1980) 21), and the scribe wrote the right figure for the *epinemesis*, we may reconstruct lines 2–3 as follows (the line division is *exempli gratia*):

ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ἔτους] ροθ ρμη τῆ[ς πα]ρούσης δε[κάτης ἰνδικτίωνος, σποράς και  
συλλογής καρπῶν τῆς ἐν θεῶ δωδεκά]της ἐπινεμῆ[σεως] τὰς δ[ιαφερούσας

11 [τής ἐν θεῶ πεντ]εκαδικάτης ἐπινεμῆσεως. Oxyrhynchite documents usually refer to the coming indiction as ἡ ἐν θεῶ ἰνδικτίων or ἐπινεμῆσις. A construction with the participle *εἰσιούσα*, common elsewhere in Egypt, is rare in this region; I have found it only in XVI 1970 26 (554), I 126 10 (572) (with ἐν θεῶ), and XVI 1892 21 (581) (see also (Korr. Tyche 261), Tyche 13 (1998) 263).

11–12 Cf. P. Flor. III 325.10 (489) ] ἐν πεδίοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ κτήματος ὀλόκληρον μηχανὴν καλουμένην (perhaps supply *διακεμένων* in the lacuna before ἐν). Cf. also LV 3803 5 (411), LXIII 4390 9–10 (469), SB XX 15027.3 (475).

N. GONIS

#### 4616. RECEIPT FOR PART OF AN IRRIGATION MACHINE

54 1B.25(B)/A(1)b

12.5 × 10.3 cm

30 September 525

The top and parts of nine lines of a document of a well-attested type; for an up-to-date list see L. E. Tacoma, *ZPE* 120 (1998) 128f. The papyrus breaks off just before the details of the receipt were stated.

4616 is only the second text from the period between Strategius' tenure of the *comitiva domesticorum* and his patriciate, and confirms the dating of XVI 1984 to 523. A further point of interest is the occurrence of a simple *γεωργός* in place of the expected *ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός*; see further 7–8 n.

The text is written along the fibres. What survives of the back is blank, but such

a document would have had an endorsement, now lost along with the beginnings of the lines. There is a sheet join running vertically about 1 cm from the right hand edge.

[† ὑπατείας Φλαουίου Φιλ]οξένο[u] τ[οῦ] λ[α]μπροτάτου, Φαῶφι γ  
ἰνδ[ικτίωνος] δ.

[Φλαουίω Στρατηγίω τ]ῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ και ὑπερφυεστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ  
[και ἀπὸ ὑπάτων γεου]χοῦντι και ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρῶ Ὁξυρυγιτών  
[πόλει διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου] τοῦ και ἐπερωτῶντος και προσπορίζοντος  
5 [τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ δεσπότη τ]ῷ αὐτῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ ἀνδρὶ τὴν ἀγωγὴν  
[και ἐνοχὴν Αὐρήλιω]ς Βίκτωρ υἱὸς Ἰσάκ μητρὸς Μάρθας  
[ἀπὸ c. 10 ] βορρωῆς τοῦ Ὁξυρυγιτίου νομοῦ γεωργός  
[τής ὑμῶν ἐνδοξό]τητος χαίρειν. χρείας και νῦν γεναμένης  
[εἰς τὴν ὑπ' ἐμὲ γεουχι]κῆ[ν μ]η[χαν]ῆ[ν] κ[α]λουμῆ[ν]η[ν] .]ο. . ε. [. . .]υ

1 φαωφί ἰνδ 2 ὑπερφυεστατω 6 υἱος ἰσάκ

'In the consulship of Flavius Philoxenus, *vir clarissimus*, Phaophi 3, indiction 4.

'To Flavius Strategius, the most glorious and most extraordinary *magister militum* and consular, landowner here also in the splendid city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Menas, slave, putting the formal question and supplying for his own master, the same most glorious man, the conduct of and responsibility for (the transaction), Aurelius Victor, son of Isak, mother Martha, from the northern . . . of the Oxyrhynchite nome, farmer of your gloriousness, greeting. Since now too a need has arisen for . . . in the estate irrigator under my charge called . . .'

1 For the conversion of the date see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 86, 96. For the consulate see R. S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* 585, with R. W. Burgess, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 156; also R. Pintaudi, P. J. Sijpesteijn, *AnPap* 6 (1994) 145.

2–3 [Φλαουίω Στρατηγίω τ]ῷ ἐνδοξοτάτῳ και ὑπερφυεστάτῳ στρατηλάτῃ [και ἀπὸ ὑπάτων. Strategius' name and titulare are restored after XVI 1984 2–3 (523); cf. also the protocol XVI 1928, of 533 (for the date see J. Gascou, *Tyche* 9 (1994) 19–21). The titles of *magister militum* (see Gascou, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 64 n. 362, and the literature assembled by R. Mazza, *Aegyptus* 75 (1995) 210 n. 133) and *ex consulibus* were honorary, but ranked above the *comitiva domesticorum*, which Strategius held earlier; see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire* i. 372, ii. 528, 636. The different status of the titles is also evident from his honorific epithets: *μεγαλοπρεπέστατος και ἐνδοξότατος* earlier, now *ἐνδοξότατος και ὑπερφυεστάτος*. When this promotion took place is unknown; it is also unclear whether it has anything to do with his tenure of the office of *praefectus Augustalis* shortly before 524: see Gascou, *T&MByz* 9 (1985) 64 with n. 358. A further promotion was to follow: Strategius was *patricius* by 30 December 530; cf. XXXVI 2779.

A separate note on XVI 1984 may be appended here. Ed. pr. dated it to '523 (?)', reading the consular date clause in line 1 as ὑπατείας Φλ[αου]ί[ου]ν [? Ἰωάννου]ν τοῦ λαμπροτάτου Φ[α]ῶφι λ ἰνδ[ικτίωνος] β. P. J. Sijpesteijn, K. A. Worp, *ZPE* 26 (1977) 276 n. 28 (= BL VII 143), noticed the discrepancy between the year and the consul's name: the consul of 523 was Fl. Maximus, whereas John (the Cappadocian) was the consul of 538. Bagnall and

Worp, op. cit. 122, include the text among the instances of the consulship of Maximus, without further comment. This has been confirmed on the original, on which I read the name of the consul as Φλ[(αουίου)] Μαξιμίμου.

3-4 γεου]χοῦντι καὶ ἐνταῦθα τῇ λαμπρᾷ Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν [πόλει. Strategius is first said to own land *also* in Oxyrhynchus in XVI 1984 3-4 (523). But contrast P. Flor. III 325.3 (489), XVI 1982 5 (497), 4615 5 (505), where he is styled γεουχοῦντι ἐν (ἐνταῦθα in 1982) τῇ λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁξυρρυχιτῶν πόλει, a formulation indicating landownership *only* in Oxyrhynchus. Clearly, some time between 505 and 523 Strategius was established as a landowner also beyond the territory of Oxyrhynchus. We know that the *oikos* of Apion I, Strategius' father, is attested exclusively in Heracleopolis; cf. SB XVIII 13953 (492), SPP XX 129 (497), VIII 772 (V), CPR V 17 (late V) (it is uncertain whether the Oxyrhynchite *defensor civitatis* of XVI 1886 is Apion I); and that from 530 onwards Strategius is described as *πρωτεύων* in Heracleopolis and Oxyrhynchus; cf. XXXVI 2779 3-4 (530), XVI 1983 3-4 (535). It is likely, therefore, that by 523 Strategius had assumed control over the Heracleopolite *oikos* of his father. This seems to have taken place during the latter's lifetime: Apion I is thought to have died between 524 and 532; see Gasco, *T&MB* 9 (1985) 63 with n. 352. The period of Apion's exile, 510-18, seems a good time for this; in fact we have no evidence that Apion's fall from Anastasius' favour affected Strategius. But we may also consider the possibility whether the administration of the Heracleopolite part of the estate was devolved on Strategius at a time when more pressing business kept Apion away. The case of the Oxyrhynchite *oikos*, which seems to have been in Strategius' control already by 489 (cf. P. Flor. III 325), or at least by 497 (cf. 1982), would have served as a parallel, provided of course that earlier the *oikos* was controlled by Apion; cf. 4514 2 n.

In this context, I am not sure how much weight one should attach to CPR XIV 48, of 506, which shows Strategius in the capacity of *riparius* at Heracleopolis. The ripariate was a *munus patrimonii* which fell upon the local *oikoi*, cf. XVI 2039. On present evidence there is no way of knowing whether in 506 Strategius was the actual head of the Heracleopolite *oikos*, or discharged the *munus* on behalf of his father.

4-6 διὰ . . . ἐνοχῆν. The clause has turned up only in texts related to the Apion family. Its first instance, although in slightly different wording, is in LXIII 4390 4-5, of 469; it occurs again in XVI 1984 4-6, of 523; see below 4 n.

In his comment on the clause I. F. Fikhman, in R. Pintaudi (ed.), *Miscellanea Papyrologica* = Pap. Flor. VII (1980) 71 n. l. 4, wrote: 'C'est la formule habituelle dans les documents des Apions qui leur sont adressés en qualité de personnes privées, c'est pourquoi elle manque dans SB VI 9152 (Heracleopolis, 492) et P. Vars. 30 (571).' This distinction does not seem to apply to the earlier texts from Oxyrhynchus. XVI 1982 (497), 1984 (523) and 4616 (525) are all documents of the same kind addressed to Fl. Strategius I, but 1982 does not have the formula. In 4615, of 505, which also lacks the clause, Strategius I appears to be as much of a *personne privée* as in the texts which contain it. The only difference I can see is that the formula only occurs in those texts where the representatives of the family are said to own land 'also in Oxyrhynchus'. It is also significant that Menas' earliest occurrence in a papyrus (see next note) coincides with the first mention of Strategius I as landowner 'also in Oxyrhynchus'; see above 3-4 n.

That in the earlier texts Strategius appears without intermediaries deserves notice for one further reason. In a note commenting on the case of the count Fl. Phoebammon alias Lamason in P. Wash. Univ. I 25, who appears to possess land exclusively in Oxyrhynchus, Fikhman observed that the fact that the count is addressed directly without an intermediary indicates the absence of a central administrative apparatus, which may suggest that his estate was of modest size (MNHMH *G. A. Petropoulos* (1984) i. 382). If this applies to Strategius too, one of the implications would be that at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the sixth the size of the Apion holdings was not what it came to be later.

4 [Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου]. On Menas see LVIII 3935 7 n. para. 3. He first appears in XVI 1984 4-6, of 523: on the original I read διὰ Μηνᾶ οἰκέτου τοῦ καὶ ἐπερωτῶντος καὶ προσπορίζοντος τῷ ἰδίῳ δεσπ[ότ]ῃ τῷ αὐτῷ ὑπερβ[υ]εστάτῳ ἀνδρὶ | τῇ ἀγωγῇ καὶ ἐνοχῆν (this part of the text was not transcribed in ed. pr.).

Outside the 'Apion archive' there is only one document attesting an intermediary who is also an *οἰκέτης*, P. Col. inv. 83.11-13 (ZPE 120 (1998) 124), of 549 (?), a text of the same type as 4616 and addressed to the *curatores* of the *domus divina* of Justinian διὰ | Ἀφροῦά [οἰ]κέτου καὶ μειζοτέρου τοῦ αὐτοῦ θειοτάτου | οἴκου; the absence of a *gentilicium* from Apphus' name is noticeable.

5 [τῷ ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ δεσπότη τ]ῷ. The restored αὐτοῦ has no exact parallel, but one could compare LXIII 4397 13 (545) τῷ [αὐτῷ ὑ]περβυεστάτῳ αὐτοῦ δεσπότη.

7 βορρῆς is part of the place-name stated to be Victor's *origo*. The existing topographical repertoires record nothing similar. For the formation compare the Oxyrhynchite ἐποίκιον Παρορίου νοτίης; cf. also the Heracleopolite Τοκῶς βορρῆς (SB XX 14580.1), or the Arsinoite Οὐά βορρῆς. There is no means of telling whether it was a κώμη or an ἐποίκιον.

7-8 γεωργός [τῆς ὑμῶν ἐνδοξό]τητος. Victor is not styled as ἐναπόγραφος γεωργός. It is doubtful whether the absence of the term ἐναπόγραφος is a simple scribal omission. There is no reference to Victor's *origo* as being a possession of Strategius, which is the rule with ἐναπόγραφοι (VI 996 = SB XVI 12484.7 (584) is not an exception, as the text makes it clear that the ἐποίκιον Εὐτυχιάδος is a κτήμα of the Apions; cf. Fikhman, Pap. Flor. VII p. 74 n. l. 7). Although the construction recalls XVI 1915 18 (c. 560) τοῖς ἐξῆς γεωργοῖς τοῦ ἐνδοξ(ου) οἴκου, XIX 2239 13 (598) τοῖς πάντας γεωργούς τῆς ὑμετέρας ἐνδοξ(ότητος), or PSI VII 823.6 (V) Κάρπον τὸν γεωργὸν τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν δεσπότη(υ) μο(υ), it is difficult to be sure whether these examples do not refer to ἐναπόγραφοι. As Fikhman, *AnPap* 3 (1991) 10, has pointed out, the term occurs only 'dans les documents adressés par des colons [i.e. the ἐναπόγραφοί] ou leurs représentants . . . aux grands propriétaires respectifs'; but this is not the case with the examples cited. Victor, I suppose, was an agricultural worker on the estate of Strategius. Such γεωργοί are attested already in the Roman period, but they occur more often from the fourth century onwards: cf., e.g., XII 1424 4 (c. 318), LXVI 4528 9 (336); we may also compare P. Köln III 152.7 (477?) γεωργός τῆς [α]ἰτήσας ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας. They may be recognized in the class of γεωργοί distinguished from ἐναπόγραφοι in Justinian's *Novella* 128.14, of 545: γεωρούς τινι προσήκοντας ἢ ἐναπογράφους.

Most of the receipts for replacement parts of irrigation machinery in the Apion archive refer to ἐναπόγραφοι; only XVI 1987 (587) features an ἀντέκδικος (for the term see D. Bonneau, *Proc. XII Int. Cong. Pap.* (1970) 55 n. 87), who is a native of Oxyrhynchus.

8 ἐνδοξό]τητος is inevitable, and becomes the earliest occurrence of the abstract noun, equivalent to Latin *gloria*, in a papyrus. P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamten titel von 400 bis 700* (1903) 115, notes that it first appears in the legal sources in 533. (There is no reason to assume that it was used in SB XVIII 13951 (487-91), a text addressed to the *comes domesticorum* Fl. Eustochius: in lines 6 and 8 restore μεγαλοπρεπείας in place of ἐνδοξότητος, and in 11 μεγαλοπρεπεία instead of ἐνδοξότητι; cf. XVI 1982 10, 12 and 4615 7, 12, which refer to Strategius I, also a *comes domesticorum*.)

9 .[ο] . . ε .[. ]υ. I have not been able to match the traces with any of the known names of μηχαναί.

N. GONIS

#### 4617. LIST OF FESTAL PAYMENTS

84/60

12.5 × 20.5, 12.5 × 6 cm

Fifth century  
Plate XI

This list entitled γνῶς(ις) ἐορτικ(ῶν) contains the names of fifteen churches and one monastery followed by amounts in money. Most of the churches were already known: see the list given by L. Antonini in *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 172-83; cf. also S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* i (Wiesbaden, 1984) 283-300. Several are attested in XI 1357, recently re-edited by A. Papaconstantinou in *REByz* 54 (1996) 135-59. On contributions to and from churches see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises* (Pap. Brux. 10; 1972), chaps. 3 and 4, and in G. Cavallo et al. (edd.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Pap. Flor. XXX; 1998) 71-2. The closest parallels to 4617 are PSI VII 791, re-edited by Wipszycka, 123-4, and SB XIV 12130, both from the Oxyrhynchite nome. PSI 791 begins





particular feast and may perhaps also be weekly contributions to the episcopal fund (the adjectives *εορταστικός* and *εορτικός* can be assumed to be synonymous; see Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon*, s.vv.). For a list of *εορταί* attested in the papyri see L. Casarico, *Aegyptus* 64 (1984) 135–62.

2 *χρεω*[: this is written in between lines 1 and 3, but the writer may have intended it to go with line 1. The last two letters are slightly raised, which may or may not indicate an abbreviation. Presumably we should look for a form of the verb *χρεωστέω*, most probably *χρεωστούμενων*, agreeing with *εορτικῶν*.

3 ff. As all the entries are abbreviated (cf. note to 6 ff.), there is no way of being sure of the case intended, and the nominative has been supplied for convenience (this is of course the correct case if we read *χρεωστοῦσι(ν)* in line 2).

3 There is a check-mark to the left of this entry but none for any of the other entries. A *νοτίνη ἐκκλησία* is mentioned as early as 295 in I 43 verso III 19 = W. Chr. 474; it also occurs in 1357 37 (see Antonini 178) and 4619 4. The order of words here might suggest that we have a reference to an *ἐκκλησία Νοτίου*, attested in XIX 2243A 76 (Timm 289 confuses the two). If, however, the churches in 4617 are in the city of Oxyrhynchus, this church cannot be meant, as *Νότιον* was a *χωρίον* in the Oxyrhynchite nome (see Pruneti, *I centri abitati* 124); cf. also 4619 4.

The sigla for myriads of denarii are ligatured together. The one for denarii lacks the middle stroke (as often) and by line 6 has degenerated into a V-shape, with the symbol for myriads no more than a slight hook. On this symbol see W. M. Brashear, *ZPE* 60 (1985) 239–42.

4 1357 5 has an entry *εἰς τὴν μαρτυρ( )*. Grenfell and Hunt considered expanding *Μαρτυρ(ίου)* but opted instead for *μαρτύρ(ων)*, and in this they are followed by Papaconstantinou (the reference in Antonini 173 and Timm 288 to *τὸ βορρηνὸν Μαρτύριον* in 1357 is confused; line 50 there reads ]τοβ[ only, and Papaconstantinou rightly rejects the restoration *τὸ βορρηνὸν μαρτύριον* as purely speculative). The present text and 4618 11 prove that the correct expansion is *Μαρτυρ(ίου)*. The church is also attested in P. Lond. V 1762.16, *τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας Μαρτυρ(ίου)*, a papyrus which is now known to be from the Oxyrhynchite nome: see L. 3600 recto 13 n. As the name is not accompanied by *ἄγιος*, Martyrius is more likely to have been the founder or owner rather than a saint; cf. 1357 introd., pp. 24–5, Antonini 131f.

5 For this church see 4618 12 and note there.

6 ff. It was a common practice to leave out *ἐκκλησία* and give just the name in the genitive when referring to churches named after a saint.

6 A church of St Stephen has not previously been attested at Oxyrhynchus. Isaac the Presbyter reports a bishop Stephanus in Oxyrhynchus in his Coptic *Life of Samuel of Kalamun* (ed. A. Alcock, Warminster 1983, sect. 38, p. 32), but as he lived probably in the early seventh century (cf. Timm, 292; A. Papaconstantinou, *ZPE* 111 (1996) 172–3), the church in 4617 cannot have been named after him. The church could of course have been named after the first martyr (there was a church of St Stephen at Arsinoe—see Antonini 170—and at Apollonopolis, P. Apoll. 99.3), but note also the Stephanus who suffered martyrdom in Antinoopolis together with Justus, the son of the emperor Numerian (cf. De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt*, New York 1937, 175). Is it significant that St Justus occurs in the next line in 4617? Cf. also the martyr Stephanos, priest of the Antinoopolite village of Lenaios, whose martyrdom survives in P. Duk. inv. 438, ed. P. van Minnen, *AB* 113 (1995) 13–34.

7 See Antonini 176, Timm 288f. (where correct P. Oxy. 141 to 941); add 4620 12, 4618 24 and P. Stras. V 395.1. However, some of these references may be to a monastery; cf. P. Barison, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 77–8.

8 *Βαπτ(ιστοῦ)*: the apparatus perhaps indicates no more than the writer's intention. Damage makes πττ difficult, π especially so; thereafter, the double curve cannot adequately represent the complexity of the abbreviation stroke.

The church is also attested in 4618 14, and 1357 47 has an entry *εἰς τὸν Βα]πτιστ[τῆν* which must refer to this church. See further 4618 8 n.

9 See Antonini 177, Timm 288; cf. LVI 3862 27.

10 The line is blank after the name of the church with no indication of any payment due. For the church see Antonini 179, Timm 289. On St Thecla see now S. J. Davis in D. Frankfurter (ed.), *Pilgrimage and Holy Space in Late Antique Egypt* (1998) 303–39.

11 See Antonini 174–5, Timm 287; cf. 3862 26. Also in PSI VIII 953.30–1 and Stud. Pal. X 35.6, both from the Oxyrhynchite; for the latter see 1357 introd., pp. 23–4.

12 The church is also attested in 4618 2; on it see XVI 1898 20 with note ad loc.

13 According to Timm 284, a martyr Victor at Oxyrhynchus is mentioned in the Coptic Pierpont Morgan Codex tom. 50 fol. 60b–61a. For the church see Antonini 179, Timm 289; add 4618 1 and 17.

14 The monastery is attested in PSI 791.11; cf. also the *τόπος Ἄπια Λαμάωνος* in XVI 2025 9. *Λαμάων* is a characteristically Oxyrhynchite name.

15 In Antonini's list the only female name beginning with *M* is *Μαρία*. For a church of St Mary at Oxyrhynchus see Antonini 177, Timm 288; cf. P. Wash. Univ. I 6.5.

16 The restoration is inevitable, as τϠ is clear and no other name for a church beginning with these letters is attested. For a church of St Gabriel at Oxyrhynchus see Antonini 175, Timm 288; add 4618 9 and 13.

18 See Antonini 175, Timm 287; add PSI 791.5, Stud. Pal. X 35.11, and 4620 8. All the references are to a church of St Philoxenus except XVI 1950, where *ἄγιος* is not used; there is a *μοναστήριον Φιλοξένου* in PSI 791.12; cf. P. Lond. IV 1762.17.

19 For St Julianus cf. 3862 25–8 n. The church is probably attested in 1357 48, where only ] Γουλ[ survives.

G. SCHMELZ

#### 4618. LIST OF CHURCHES

22 3B.16/F(1)

16.6 × 29.5 cm

Sixth century  
Plate XII

The original document was cut down and turned at right angles to take a private letter on the back along the fibres, which was probably addressed to an ecclesiastic (*ἡ ἐδλάβειά σου*, 1); the letter, which is complete but in parts has suffered considerably from abrasion, is reserved for publication later.

The layout of 4618 suggests an original large format. I have assumed that line 1 was the first of the column, although only a few mm of the putative upper margin are extant. It is unclear whether the surviving column was preceded by others; if so, the ample right-hand margin indicates that this was the last. The script is a careful large upright cursive, mostly unligatured. I would assign it to the sixth century, earlier rather than later. There is a kollesis close to the left-hand edge. The hand responsible for the letter on the back suggests that that should date towards the end of the century.

The papyrus contains a list of churches. All line-beginnings are lost, and its exact purport is not clear. Nothing has been written after the church-names, so it seems unlikely that this was a financial document, recording expenses or income, as 4617. But there is one particular feature which may offer a clue. Some of the churches are mentioned more than once: the churches of Phoebammon and Poemenike are referred to four times, while those of St Colluthus, St Gabriel, St Phoebammon, and St Victor receive two entries each. This is also the case with several of the churches which figure in XI 1357, a calendar of church services of 535–36 (see A. Papaconstantinou, *REByz* 54 (1996) 135 ff., esp. 155–9); remarkably, the most prominent among them appears to be the church of Phoebammon (see further 7 n.). We may therefore envisage this list as part of a document of a liturgical nature. If this is correct, each entry would have been preceded by an indication of a festival, as

in **1357**. But the wording is different here, and recalls that of **4617**: nominatives (or genitives?), as opposed to constructions with *εἰς*.

Of the fifteen churches mentioned only one, the *ἐκκλησία Ποιμενικῆς*, has not been recorded previously. It is very probable that they were all located in the city of Oxyrhynchus; this is suggested by the overlaps with **1357**, which must have exclusively concerned city churches, as well as by the name of the church of Poimenike (see 4 n.). Three of the churches are known to have had their own *οἰκονόμοι*: St Colluthus (XVI **1934**), St Gabriel (VI **993**) and St Justus (VI **941**). This is easier to imagine in the context of the city than the country. The presence of *οἰκονόμοι* is also indicative of wealth, cf. E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises en Égypte du IV<sup>e</sup> au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1972) 137. We may consider whether this is valid for the other churches too, that is, whether this is a group of religious establishments of considerable means.

- τοῦ] ἁγίου Βίκτορος  
 τοῦ] ἁγίου Νείλου  
 το]ῦ Ἐὐαγγελιστοῦ  
 5 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Ποιμενικῆς  
 το]ῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου  
 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Ποιμενικῆς  
 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Φοιβάμμωνος  
 το]ῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου  
 τ]οῦ ἁγίου Γαβριήλ  
 10 το]ῦ ἁγίου Κολλούθου  
 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Μαρτυρίου  
 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Παρὰ Ποταμ(όν)  
 το]ῦ ἁγίου Γαβριήλ  
 το]ῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Βαπτ(ιστοῦ)  
 15 το]ῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου  
 τ]οῦ ἁγίου Κολλούθου  
 το]ῦ ἁγίου Βίκτορος  
 το]ῦ ἁγίου Φοιβάμμωνος  
 20 ἐκ]κλη(σία) Ποιμενικῆς  
 ἐκ]κλη(σία) Φο[ι]βάμμωνος  
 ἐκ]κλη(σία) Φοιβάμμωνος  
 ἐκκ]λη(σία) Ποιμενικ(ῆς)

- το]ῦ ἁγίου Ἰούστου  
 25 τοῦ ἁγίου Φοιβάμμωνος
- 2 1. Νίλου 3 εὐαγ'γγελιστοῦ 4, 6, 7, 19-23 ἐκκλ<sup>ς</sup> 8 Ἰωάννου 11, 12 ἐκκλη<sup>ς</sup>  
 12 ποταμ<sup>ς</sup> 14 αγ'τ βαπτ<sup>ς</sup> 23 ποιμενικ<sup>ς</sup> 24 ἰουστου 25 1. Φοιβάμμωνος
- 'Of St Victor.  
 'Of St Nilus.  
 'Of the Evangelist.  
 'Church of Poimenike.  
 5 'Of St Zacharias.  
 'Church of Poimenike.  
 'Church of Phoebammon.  
 'Of St John.  
 'Of St Gabriel.  
 10 'Of St Colluthus.  
 'Church of Martyrius.  
 'Church by the River.  
 'Of St Gabriel.  
 'Of St John the Baptist.  
 15 'Of St Theodorus.  
 'Of St Colluthus.  
 'Of St Victor.  
 'Of St Phoebammon.  
 'Church of Poimenike.  
 20 'Church of Phoebammon.  
 'Church of Phoebammon.  
 'Church of Phoebammon.  
 'Church of Poimenike.  
 'Of St Justus.  
 25 'Of St Phoebammon.'

1 τοῦ] ἁγίου Βίκτορος. Cf. 17. See **4617** 13 n.

2 τοῦ] ἁγίου Νείλου. See **4617** 12 n.

3 το]ῦ Ἐὐαγγελιστοῦ. The church is supposedly named after St John the Evangelist; see XI **1357** introd. (pp. 25-6), L. Antonini, *Aegyptus* 20 (1940) 175 f. (no. 13), S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit* i. 287, Papaconstantinou, loc. cit. 144. To judge from his mention in the amulet VIII **1151** 43-6, the saint must have had a certain popularity at Oxyrhynchus.

4 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Ποιμενικῆς. Cf. 6, 19, 23. This church appears to be new. It presumably derives its name from the well-known ἄμφοδον Ποιμενικῆς, last attested in XLVII **3355** 3 (535). For churches named after localities and not saints see Antonini, loc. cit. 133; there are of course several churches of villages and epokia.

5 το]ῦ ἁγίου Ζαχαρίου. The church also in **1357** 52.

7 ἐ]κκλη(σία) Φοιβάμμωνος. Cf. 20, 21, 22. This must have been an important church; it figures prominently



in **1357**, where it appears to have been visited on the occasion of eight *ανάξεις*, more than any other church (in the part that survives); see Papaconstantinou, loc. cit. 155. It is just possible that it had an important patron: as the name is not accompanied by *ἄγιος*, Phoebammon is likely to have been the founder or owner (Antonini, loc. cit. 178). We know of an Oxyrhynchite notable named Phoebammon who flourished shortly before the date of **1357** (535–6): Flavius Phoebammon, a *comes*, attested between 488 and 524; see *PLRE* ii 883 (Phoebammon 3). It might be worth considering whether the church was named after him. But there are other possibilities too: cf. the *comes* Fl. Phoebammon alias Lamason (cf. BL VIII 371) in P. Wash. Univ. I 25 (530)—unless he is the same person as the other Phoebammon.

8 τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου. A church of St John also occurs in I **141** 3–4 (503): *θυρουρ(ῶ) τοῦ ἁγίου | Ἰωάννου*; cf. **4619** and **4622**, recording a *μαρτύριον τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου*. Who is this St John? At first sight, neither the Baptist, cf. 14, nor the Evangelist, cf. 3; the qualifying epithet is absent. We may also note that explicit references to the church of the Evangelist do not usually mention the name John (an exception is PSI VIII 953.82). But the scribe may have simply omitted the epithet, and this is the church of the Baptist (or the Evangelist). A St John without an epithet—a saint, not a church—also occurs in the letter LVI **3862** 26 (IV/V). We also know of a church of St John at Hermopolis; see J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal hermapolite* (P. Sorb. II) p. 74. There is of course the possibility that he was a local saint; in that case the candidates would be numerous: cf. De Lacy O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt in the Coptic Calendar* (1937) 164–73. The fragmentary Coptic church calendar, presumably from Oxyrhynchus, published by W. E. Crum, *ZNTW* 37 (1938–39) 23–32, records a day of veneration of [ΑΠΑΙΩΣ]ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΜΠΑΚΕ 'Ara John of Pake' (A 22); in theory there could have been a church dedicated to him. Another entry concerns an ΑΠΑΙΩΣΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ without further qualification (B 41). St John Chrysostom (see *Coptic Encyclopedia* s.v.) might also be considered. All in all, I am inclined to believe that this is the church of a major saint, and the absence of an epithet was not a problem for the Oxyrhynchites.

9 τοῦ ἁγίου Γαβριήλ. Cf. 13. See **4617** 16 n.

10 τοῦ ἁγίου Κολλούθου. Cf. 16. For this church see Antonini, loc. cit. 174 (no. 4). For St Colluthus see W. E. Crum, *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 323–27; G. D. Gordini, *Bibliotheca Sanctorum* iv (1964) col. 89; and, for his hagiological dossier, U. Zanetti, *AB* 114 (1996) 10–24.

11 ἐκκλησία(α) Μαρτυρίου. See **4617** 4 n.

12 ἐκκλησία Παρὰ Ποταμόν. Also attested in P. Lond. V 1762.19, where expand Παρὰ Ποταμόν instead of παρὰ ποταμοῦ, and **4617** 5. There are examples of *μηχαναί* called Παρὰ Ποταμόν; see LV **3804** 221 n.

The church was obviously situated on the bank of the Bahr Yussuf, as was the church which in Coptic and Islamic sources was the principal church of Oxyrhynchus; it may be parts of this church that remain incorporated into the first mosque in Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus), that of Hassan ibn Salih, built at the end of the ninth century or early in the tenth century. See G. Fehérvári in *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (forthcoming). However, we are not in a position to identify that church with the ἐκκλησία Παρὰ Ποταμόν here; there may well have been more than one church so located along the town's long river frontage.

There is a remote possibility that this establishment, or another dependent on this one, is to be recognized in P. Amst. I 81 (V) *μ(αρτύρ)ριον Παρὰ Ποταμόν* (ed. pr. has *μ(οναστή)ριον*), but cf. P. van Minnen, *AB* 113 (1995) 19. The same text refers to a *μ(αρτύρ)ριον τοῦ ἁγίου Στεφάνου* (l. 9); we may recall that in **4617** the entry on the church of St Stephen follows immediately after the entry on the church 'By the River' (ll. 5–6). This could just possibly suggest that the Amsterdam papyrus refers to Oxyrhynchite shrines.

14 τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰωάννου Βαπτ(ιστοῦ). See **4617** 8 n.

15 τοῦ ἁγίου Θεοδώρου. See LVIII **3958** 12 n. This St Theodore may well be the one known as *ὁ στρατηλάτης*, for whom see Th. Baumeister, *Martyr Invictus* (1972) 135–7.

18 τοῦ ἁγίου Φοιβάμμωνος. Cf. 25. The church also occurs in SPP X 35.5; see **1357** introd. pp. 24–5.

24 τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰούστου. See **4617** 7 n.

N. GONIS

#### 4619. LIST OF CHURCHES AND CHAPELS

50 4B.30/B(6–7)e

11 × 7 cm

Early sixth century

This fragment, seemingly from the foot of a column, attests a number of religious establishments of which at least one has not been recorded previously. Only one is called a 'church', ἐκκλη(ησία) νοτίνης in 4. The genitive here (see 4 n.), unless we are to assume the genitive throughout, might possibly indicate a topographical sub-heading, that is to say that the two premises following (5–6) were part of the south church or its complex or were in its parish. (SB I 5129 has a similar case mix, but cannot easily be explained in this way.) Two are *εὐκτήρια*, the first attestations of the term in an Oxyrhynchus papyrus, while the others are styled *μαρτύρια*. They were probably all situated in the city of Oxyrhynchus.

The nature of the text is not clear. It could have been a financial document, as e.g. **4617**; it could have served as a checklist to a prospective donor; or perhaps its purpose was liturgical, cf. **4618**.

Another list of *μαρτύρια* has been identified in MPER XVII 78 (VII/VIII), see A. Papaconstantinou, *ZPE* 130 (2000) 193–6; comparison with **4619** leaves little doubt that the Vienna text records shrines dedicated to martyrs, not books on martyrdoms. Cf. also P. Amst. I 81 (V), listing two *μαρτύρια* and one church, and clerics attached to them (on this text see further **4618** 12 n. para. 3).

The writing is along the fibres. The back is blank.

5					
1	]τηρ	1, 2, 3, 5, 6 αγε	2, 5, 6 μαρτυρ	3 ευκτηρ	4 εκκλ

'Chapel of St . . .

'Martyrium of St Serenus . . .

'Chapel of St Anup, abbot . . .

'(Of the?) southern church . . .

'Martyrium of St Menas . . .

'Martyrium of St John . . .'

1 Cf. 3 n. Comparing line 3, there does not seem to be space for the initial supplement unless the line began in ecthesis, which would be odd and unexplained; yet the reading seems inevitable.

2 μαρτυρ(ι-). The μαρτύρια were chapels dedicated to Christian martyrs. They usually preserved relics, and were often built on the actual spot of the martyrdom. See H. Eideneier, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 189 with n. 6 for references. The earliest instance of a μαρτύριον in a papyrus is P. Haun. III 67.2 (Oxy.; 398).

μαρτυρ(ι-) τοῦ ἀγίου(ου) Σερήνου. This martyrium also occurs in XVI 1911 92 = LV 3804 164. Three other passages (XI 1357 4, 28–29, 53, PSI VII 791.7, VIII 953.10) attest an establishment called τοῦ ἀγίου(ου) Σερήνου. All these texts date to the sixth century, and have been assumed to refer to the same religious institution; see S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* (1984) i 289, A. Papaconstantinou, *REByz* 54 (1996) 143. A further reference now is 4620 10 (fifth/sixth century). There is of course a clear distinction between ἐκκλησία and μαρτύρια in LVIII 3960 20–1 (621) εἰς τὰς ἀγί(α)ς ἐκκλησί(α)ς καὶ ξενοδοχ(εῖα) καὶ μαρτύρ(ια) τῆς πόλεως καὶ ἐν ἀγροῖς, which probably reflects the distinction between καθολικαὶ ἐκκλησίαι and εὐκτήρια in canonical sources: cf. J. Gascou, *Un codex fiscal Hermopolite* = P. Sorb. II, pp. 71–2; and 1357 suggests that St Serenus' was a church of some importance. But in Oxyrhynchus the two terms ἐκκλησία and μαρτύριον 'are sometimes treated as synonymous at this period' (1357 introd. p. 23). 4619 and 4622 may add further support to this remark, with τοῦ ἀγίου Ἰωάννου, a church to judge from 4618, styled μαρτύριον; the term μαρτύριον could have been used for churches, as well as smaller chapels, named after martyrs. (This St Serenus was probably a martyr, see 1357 4 n., and H. Delehaye, 'Les martyrs d'Égypte', *AB* 40 (1922) 8–9, 51.) On the other hand, the very fact that 4619 uses the different terms for the buildings may be an argument against their identity, supported by the passage just cited from 3960. That a 'martyrium' could be of considerable size, so that it would have an *oikonomos*, like wealthy churches, emerges from XVI 2019 65 (VI) διακόνου καὶ οἰκονόμου μαρτυρίου . . . . [For a similar problem in Hermopolis, with some churches also styled as εὐκτήρια, see P. Sorb. II pp. 71–2.

St Serenus' mention in the amulet VIII 1151 47 further attests the popularity of the saint in Oxyrhynchus.

3 εὐκτηρ(ι-) τοῦ ἀγίου(ου) ἀββᾶ Ἀνούπ. This and the less complete line 1 are the first occurrences of εὐκτήρια in Oxyrhynchus. For the term see P. Sorb. II pp. 71–2.

An Oxyrhynchite religious establishment dedicated to a St Anup is also new. The reference may be to an Anup who was martyred under Diocletian: see *Coptic Encyclopedia* i. 152 (T. Orlandi); also O'Leary, *The Saints of Egypt* 107–8, 208–9 for other possibilities. Other Christian institutions named after an Anup include a church in Lycopolis (P. Cair. Masp. III 67289.16 Ἄπα Ἀ[ν]ουφίου), and possibly a monastery in Aphrodito (P. Cair. Masp. III 67342 πρᾶγμα τοῦ ἀββᾶ Ἀνούπ, with Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten* (1985) iii 1451).

4 ἐκκλ(η)σί(α)ς νοτίης, apparently, cf. I 43 verso iii 19 τῆ νοτίη ἐκκλ(η)σία, rather than ἐκκλ(η)σία νοτίης, see introd. On this church see further 4617 3 n.

5 μαρτυρ(ι-) τοῦ ἀγίου(ου) Μηνᾶ. This establishment is new, unless it is to be identified with the church of St Menas (cf. above 2 n.), for which see 4617 9 n.

6 μαρτυρ(ι-) τοῦ ἀγίου(ου) Ἰωάννου. Possibly the same institution as the church τοῦ ἀγίου(ου) Ἰωάννου. See 4618 8 n., 4622 2, 5; cf. above 2 n.

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#### 4620. OFFERINGS TO RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS

A22/5

5.5 × 30.5 cm

Fifth/sixth century

A long, narrow strip of papyrus, which is complete. The hand is not unlike that of 4617 and of the texts referred to in the introduction there, but may be a little later. It is probably to be assigned to the first half of the sixth century, although the later fifth century cannot be ruled out. The back is blank.

The content is a memorandum of payments in grain made or due for the ninth indiction, mostly to churches. For the relevant bibliography see 4617, introd. As several of these churches are attested in other documents from the Apion archive, it is probable that 4620

too belongs to papyri relating to this estate. Although there would appear to be no exact parallel to 4620 among published papyri, there is a good deal of evidence for great estates making contributions to churches and monasteries, see Hardy, 139–45, and Wipszycka, *Les ressources* 78–85; on pp. 109–20 she discusses charitable institutions dependent on churches.

† ἐπὶ τῆς θ ἰνδικ(τίωνος)  
εἰς τὴν ἀγί(αν) προσφορ(ὰν)  
τῆς μάμμης  
(ἀρτάβαι) υἱς  
5 εἰς τροφ(ήν) τῶν χηρ(ῶν)  
τῆς ἐκκλ(η)σί(α)ς Φουβάμμ(ωνος)  
(ἀρτ.) ς / (ἀρτ.) ρπβς /  
εἰς τὸν ἄγι(ον) Φιλόξενον  
(ἀρτ.) ρ  
10 εἰς τὸν ἄγι(ον) Σερήνον  
(ἀρτ.) ρ  
εἰς τὸν ἄγι(ον) Ἰούστον  
(ἀρτ.) κε  
εἰς τὸ ξεν(ο)δοχ(εῖον) αὐτοῦ  
15 (ἀρτ.) κε  
εἰς τὸ Ἄνω Καιάριον  
(ἀρτ.) λ  
εἰς τὸ Μέγα Ὄρος  
(ἀρτ.) λ  
20 εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον) Λευκαδίου  
(ἀρτ.) κ  
εἰς τὰ Ἄπα Ἱερακίονος  
(ἀρτ.) ρ  
εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον)  
25 Ἄμα Ἰουλιανῆς  
(ἀρτ.) ν  
εἰς τὸ μοναστήρ(ιον)  
Ἄμα Μαρίας  
(ἀρτ.) ς  
30 (γίνονται) (ἀρτ.) Απδ

1 ἰνδικ

2 αγπροσφορ

4 et passim, see note

dot above υ of υἱς

5 τροφ χηρβ

6 εκκλησιαστικῶν 8, 10, 12 αγι 12 ἰουστον 14 ξενδοχῆ 16 I. Καϊσάρειον 20 μοναστηρ,  
 80 24, 27 22 ἱερακιονος, κ corrected? 25 ἰουλιανης 30 /

‘In the 9th indiction.

‘For the holy mass(?) for our(?) grandmother 416 artabas.

‘For the maintenance of the widows of the church of Phoebammon  $\frac{1}{2}$  artaba [per diem, making] 182  $\frac{1}{2}$  artabas [per annum].

‘For St Philoxenus 100 artabas.

‘For St Serenus 100 artabas.

‘For St Justus 25 artabas.

‘For its guest-house 25 artabas.

‘For the Upper Caesareum 30 artabas.

‘For the Great Desert 30 artabas.

‘For the monastery of Leucadius 20 artabas.

‘For the house of (?) Apa Hieracio 100 artabas.

‘For the monastery of Ama Juliana 50 artabas.

‘For the monastery of Ama Maria 6 artabas.

‘Total: 1084 artabas.’

2–3 On the various meanings of *προσφορά* in this connection see XVI **1898** 23 n., Hardy 143, and Wipszycka 65, 69–70. The reading *μάμμης* in line 3 is very probable, even though the second *μ* is rather broad (*Μαριάμης* cannot be read). Is this a reference to a donation or bequest, or does it rather refer to a funeral mass for a deceased lady of the Apion house? *προσφορά* can refer to any sort of pious donation, but is sometimes used specifically of donations for funeral masses and in consequence for the mass itself. Hardy, loc. cit., made the suggestion that some payments by large estates might be for requiems for deceased members of the family and that *προσφορά* might be a technical term for this. In some wills the testator makes provision for *τὰς ἀγίας μου προσφοράς*: see XVI **1901** 49–50, with references to further examples, in particular to P. Münch. I 8 (where see the note to line 5); cf. also P. Wash. Univ. I 56.16–18, κ]αὶ εἰς τὴν προσφορὰν τῆς νύμφης Ἡραΐδος (I. Ἡραΐδος καθ’ ἑβδομάδαν ὁμοίως χαράγματα δέκα, and P. Cair. Masp. III 67312.76, ὑπὲρ ἀγίας προσφοράς τῆς αὐτῆς μακαρ[ίας] μου γυναικός.

4 The symbol for artabas is like a cursive *θ* with extended cross-bar, but is probably intended to be a cursive *α* merged into the horizontal stroke only of the more usual symbol *ϑ*. For illustrations see LI **3628** (Plate VII) and P. Laur. IV 173 (Plate CXIV).

5 On churches providing charitable aid for widows see R. Rémondon, *Chr. d’Ég.* 47 (1972) 265–6, Wipszycka 114–15, G. Tibiletti, *Atti XVII Congresso* iii. 989, P. Pruneti, *Paideia cristiana: studi in onore di Mario Naldini* (1994), 199–205 (a re-edition of XVI **1954–6**), and **4621**. Payments of wine recorded in SB XII 10926 include (l. 17) payment *ταῖς πρὸς χήραις*; cf. also **4622** and LVIII **3960** 23.

6 For this church see **4618** 7 n.

8 See **4617** 18 n.

10 See Antonini 178 and Timm 289; cf. LV **3804** 164 and Papaconstantinou’s note to **1357** 4 (*REByz* 54, 154–5).

12 See **4617** 7 n.

14 For references in papyri to a *ξενοδοχεῖον*, especially one attached to a religious establishment, see G. Husson, *Akten XIII Kongresses*, 175–6, Wipszycka 115–19; add L **3600** 13 and P. Haun. III 64. See also LVIII **3960** 20 n., and P. van Minnen, in Ph. J. van der Eijk et al. (eds.), *Ancient Medicine in its Socio-Cultural Context* i (1995) 155–64, who gives further bibliography in n. 25 on p. 161.

16 P. Mert. I 41.12 records payment to a presbyter *τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Καϊσαρ(είου)* at Oxyrhynchus,

and PSI VII 791.10 records a monastery *Καϊσαρίου* there. See E. Wipszycka in G. Cavallo et al. (eds.), *Scrivere libri e documenti nel mondo antico* (Pap. Flor. XXX; 1998), 74–5. **4620** is the first text to refer to an *Ἄνω Καϊσάρειον*.

18 In LV **3804** 284 payment is recorded to men who have gone *εἰς τὸ μέγα ὄρος*; the editor suggests that they may have gone to a monastery, a view which is strongly supported by the present text. For the use of *ὄρος* to mean ‘monastery’ see H. Cadell and R. Rémondon, *REG* 80 (1967) 346–9. A *χωρίον Μεγάλου Ὄρους* occurs in P. L. Bat. XXV 80.ii.7, and we should no doubt restore *ὑπὲρ τοῦ Μεγάλου Ὄρου* at PSI VIII 953.6; both texts are from the Oxyrhynchite nome.

20 *Λευκαδίου*: the stroke through the descender of *ρ* marking the abbreviation *μοναστήριον* also does duty as the first stroke of the *λ*. The reading is not in doubt although this monastery is not otherwise attested. A place known as *Νῆκος Λευκαδίου* is found several times in Oxyrhynchus texts: see Pruneti, *I centri abitati*, 120; for *Λευκαδίου* without *Νῆκος* she quotes only XLIII **3130** 3, which refers to a *μυλαῖον Λευκαδίου* (see her comments on p. 95). Cf. now also LXI **4131**, a receipt delivered to the Apion family by *τὸ εὐαγὲς νοσοκομῖον τὸ καλούμενον Λευκαδίου* for *τὴν ἐξ ἔθους προσφορὰν*; see the note to lines 16–17.

22 Cf. perhaps P. Cair. Masp. III 67139 recto iii 25, where payments include *εἰς τὰ Ἄπα Ἀγενίου* (similarly I 67002 iii 20, III 141 ii verso 20 and v recto 11). Some letters are addressed *εἰς τὰ* followed by a personal name, e.g. XLI **2980** (translated ‘to the house of’), and **4624** below. An agnostes *τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας καλουμένης Ἄπα Ἱερακίωνος* at Oxyrhynchus occurs in P. Mert. III 124. A church of *ἀββᾶ Ἱερακίωνος* is attested in PSI VII 791.8 and 13, VII **1053** verso 23, XVIII **2206** 4 and PSI VIII 953.11; and a monastery of the same name in PSI 791.13; see Timm 290.

24–5 The monastery is also attested in XXIV **2419** 6.

27–8 A church of *Ἄμα Μαρία* at Oxyrhynchus is found in P. Wash. Univ. I 6.5 (and see **4617** 15 n.), but a monastery of this name has not hitherto been attested.

30 The total should be 1084  $\frac{1}{2}$ , but the symbol for  $\frac{1}{2}$  has not been written; nor has the stroke for thousands been added to the *α*.

J. DAVID THOMAS

#### 4621. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

3 1B.79/F(1–3)a

11.8 × 5.5 cm

Fifth/sixth century

An order to supply wine to widows of the same type and issued by the same man on the same day as XVI **1954–6**, re-edited by P. Pruneti in *Paideia cristiana: studi in onore di Mario Naldini* (1994) 199–205, esp. 201–2. **4621** is very probably by the same hand as the other three. Pruneti, 201, has argued for a date in the sixth century against the ‘late fifth century’ of the ed. pr.; a date not very far removed from the beginning of the sixth century seems likely: compare e.g. **4616** (525). Cf. **4622**.

The writing is across the fibres. The back is blank.

Βίκτορι οἶνοπράτῃ.

δὸς ταῖς χήρ(αις) ἐκκλ(ησίας) Πτολεμίνου

οὔ(ου) δι(πλᾶ) ε μ(όνα). Μεσορῆ ις, ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ε

ἀρχ(ῆ) ς.

2 χηρρ'εκακ'

3 ουςΔ (horizontal of δ cut by curve)

μ₄ ωΔ

4 αρχ'

'To Victor, wine-merchant. Give to the widows of the church of Ptoleminus 5 double jars of wine only. Mesore 16, indiction 5, beginning of the 6th.'

<sup>1</sup> Βίκτωρι. He is presumably not the same person as the οἰνοχειριστής Victor of SB XVI 12608 (511) and 4622.

<sup>2</sup> χήρ(αις). Cf. 4620 5. On widows in the Roman world one may consult J.-U. Krause, *Witwe und Waisen im römischen Reich* i-iii (1994-7).

ἐκκλη(η)σίας Πτολεμίνου. This church appears to be new. Its founder was evidently a certain Ptoleminus. The name is well attested in Oxyrhynchus; see 4597 introd.

<sup>3</sup> For the διπλοῦν see N. Kruit and K. A. Worp, *APF* 45 (1999) 117 n. 28. Mesore 16: possible dates include 9 August 497, 512, 527.

<sup>4</sup> ἀρχ(ῆ) 5. For the formula see R. S. Bagnall and K. A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* 26-7, with LIX 3985 1 n. para. 3.

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## 4622. ORDER TO SUPPLY WINE

23 3B.13/M(2-4)a

8 × 6 cm

Fifth/sixth century

The order is of the same format, type, and date as XVI 1954-6 and 4621 (but the hands are different, 4622 omits δός, and it comes from an excavation season different from 4621). Those four texts are addressed to an οἰνοπράτης named Victor; 4622 is also addressed to a Victor, but he is an οἰνοχειριστής; see further 1 n.

The text is written across the fibres. The docket on the back, close to the upper edge, runs along the fibres.

Βίκτωρι οἰνοχειρ(ιστῆ).  
ταῖς χήρ(αις) τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἰωάννου  
οἴνου διπλοῦν ἔν, γί(νεται) δι(πλοῦν) α//.  
Ἄθῦρ κε//.

Back:

5 μαρτύρ(ιον?) τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἰωάννου

1 ονοχειρ 2 χηρβ ἰωαννου 2,5 αγι 3 γεδ 5 μαρτυρ

'To Victor, wine-steward. For the widows of St. John one double jar of wine, total double jar 1. Hathyr 25.'

(Back) 'Martyrium of St. John.'

<sup>1</sup> Βίκτωρι οἰνοχειρ(ιστῆ). This person may be the same as the οἰνοχειριστής Οὐίκτωρ of SB XVI 12608, of 511 (it is doubtful that XIX 2243A 37 (590), κληρ(ονόμων) Βίκτωρος ἀπὸ οἰνοχειρ(ιστῶν) refers to the same man). There is of course a strong temptation to identify him with the οἰνοπράτης Victor (see introd.), but the terms οἰνοχειριστής and οἰνοπράτης are not equivalent: the former is the person responsible for the wine production of

(part of) an estate, see LVIII 3960 introd. para. 3, the latter a wine-seller. The distinction is clear in SB 12608 (with BL IX 287). In whose service Victor was, cannot be determined on present evidence. Other documents associating wine-stewards and churches include the roughly contemporary XVI 1951, an order issued by the 'holy church' to an οἰνοχειριστής, and BGU II 693 (= SPP VIII 1150).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 4620 5 n.

τοῦ ἀγί(ου) Ἰωάννου: cf. 5. See 4618 8 n., 4619 6 n.

<sup>4</sup> Hathyr 25 = 21/22 November.

μαρτύρ(ιον?). The case is uncertain. For the term see 4619 2 n.

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## 4623. ORDER TO SUPPLY OLD AXLES TO A CHURCH

67 6B.11/H(1)

30 × 6.5 cm

Later sixth century

A eunuch is instructed to provide four old axles to a church situated in an ἐποίκιον known to belong to the household of the Apions. Donations to churches by the Apion family, especially to those they owned, are well attested, see E. Wipszycka, *Les ressources et les activités économiques des églises* 80-1, but the supply of old axles is a novelty. The axles, presumably no longer good as parts of irrigation machines, would be a source of wood, to be used according to the needs of the church.

A further point of interest is the occurrence of a eunuch, a welcome addition to the meagre evidence on eunuchs in Byzantine Egypt. This is also the first record of the employment of eunuchs by the Apion family.

The writing is across the fibres and the back is blank.

Ɀ Χρυσάνθω εὐνούχ(ω). (vac.) παράσχ(ου) εἰς χρεῖαν τῆς ἀγίας ἐκκλησίας  
ἐποικ(ίου) Εὐαγγελίου  
[[κ . . .]] παλαιὸς αὐξωνας τέσσαρας, γί(νονται) [[κ . . .]] παλαι(οί) αὐξων(ες)  
δ μό(νοι). Χοιάκ 5'' ἰνδ(ικτιώνος) ιδ//.

<sup>1</sup> ευνουχς παρασχς εποικ' 2 1. ἄξων- γε παλαι αυξων' μο// (stroke from omicron crosses diagonals) ωΔ

'To Chrysanthus, eunuch. Deliver for the use of the holy church of the epoikion Euangelίου four old axles, total old axles 4 only. Choiak 6, indiction 14.'

<sup>1</sup> Χρυσάνθω. O. Claud. I 153.1-2 (100-120) and II 350.1 (mid-II) are the only other published texts from Egypt recording this name, which, however, is not uncommon outside Egypt, see *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names* II, IIIa.

εὐνούχ(ω). See LV 3820 15 n., CPR XIV 42.16 n. with references. The practice of employing eunuchs was much in vogue among the nobility of the Late Empire; the Apions were no exception. Another eunuch in the service of an Egyptian aristocrat, the ἐνδοξότατος στρατηλάτης Cyrillus, occurs in BGU III 725 (Ars.; 618).

'Castration was strictly prohibited within the bounds of the empire . . . in general eunuchs . . . were imported from abroad' (A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* ii. 851); this might account for the name Chrysanthus. However, the name of the eunuch in BGU 725, ἄπα Ὀλ, may suggest an Egyptian origin (it is typical of the Fayum: see

T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, *JJP* 24 (1994) 52), which in turn would be an example of illegal castration, for which there is some evidence: see Jones, op. cit. 852. The name of the eunuch in P. Lond. IV 1447.171 (685–705), Γεώργιος, has likewise nothing exotic about it (CPR XIV 42.16 Παύλου ευνούχου is too uncertain to be useful). But, as usual, it would be hazardous to draw firm conclusions from onomastics: people away from their homeland do not always retain their original names—and this was certainly the case with slaves, cf. F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *APF* 42 (1996) 232 n. 1. 3.

ἐκκλησία ἐποικ(ίου) Ἐθαγγελίου. This church also occurs in XVIII 2195 86 as the recipient of an amount of wheat and money issued by a *pronoetes*. For the epoikion, which formed part of the Apion estate, see P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell'Ossirinchiute* (1981) 49–50. The church too would have been the property of the Apions; for such churches see Wipszycka, *Les ressources* 26–7.

2 The significance of the original correction before παλαιούς (and before παλαιοί) later in the line) is not clear. Possibly κστ = και(ρούς) was written, though this would leave an awkward gap before αὔξωνας. It is also odd how the end of παλαιούς overruns the following word. The underwriting below παλαιοί is more obscure, but ought to be parallel.

παλαιούς αὔξωνας (l. ἄξωνας). For the term and the spelling see LIX 4000 8 n. Old axles were surrendered to the estate authorities on receipt of new ones; cf. XXXVI 2779 21–22 (530) τοῦ δὲ παλαιού ἄξωνος [κ]ατενεχθέντος καὶ | δοθέντος εἰς τὴν μεγάλην γεουχικὴν οἰκίαν. We hear of deliveries of old axles in I 137 24 (584) and XVI 1988 30–1 (587) τὸν δὲ παλαιὸν δοθέντα τῷ θυρορῶ. Old axles are also mentioned in XIX 2244 35. Axles were made of wood; the well-known scarcity of wood in Egypt 'would have favoured the careful salvage of damaged devices for rebuilding or simply as fuel' (J. P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices* (1983) 340). I think it likely that in this case the church was to function as a repository of axles, which is attested elsewhere, see XIX 2244 1–2 n., 83, 85.

Choiak 6 = 2/3 December.

N. GONIS

## V. PRIVATE LETTERS

### 4624. DIUS TO SARAPION

34 4B.74/N(2–3)a

14.7 × 18.6 cm

First century  
Plate IX

A business letter in which the gymnasiarch Dius (see 22) instructs his agent Sarapion to do three kinds of tasks: one relating to the selling of grain and lentils, another concerning the collection of various sums of money, and the third regarding the woodwork of an ἐξέδρα.

A distinctive feature of the letter is that its different topics are separated by paragraphoi, sometimes in combination with short preceding lines or spaces or both, making clear its function as a memorandum. Spaces as punctuation are frequent (3, 7, 14, 17, 19) but the reasons for other spaces are less obvious (e.g. 4, 8, 10); the same applies to the paragraphus between 15 and 16. There are remains of a kollesis in the left margin.

On the back is an unusual address, arranging for delivery of the letter to the sender Dius' own home or country estate, for his agent Sarapion's attention there: see 22 n.

Δίος Σαραπίωνι τῷ φιλ(τάτῳ) χ(αίρειν).  
 εἰ βραδέως ἀγοράζεται τὰ σιτάρια  
 μὴ πῶλει ἄρτι. τάχα γὰρ σὺν  
 θεῶ ἀναβηρόμεθα καὶ χρεία  
 5 ἡμεῖν αὐτῶν ἐστι.  
 καὶ τὸν φακὸν δὲ ἐλάσσω (δραχμῶν) ἡ  
 μὴ πῶλει. Θεαγένην τὸ λοιπὸν  
 τοῦ τόκου ἀπαίτησον,  
 καὶ Ζώϊλον τὸν ἀδελφόν μου  
 10 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους πάντας.  
 καὶ τὰς συντάξεις μου ἀπαίτησον.  
 τὰς δοκοὺς τῆς ἐξέδρας, εἰ μὲν μέλλη-  
 τε δοκῶσαι, λίβα ἐπ' ἀπηλιώτην  
 βάλετε. μὴ οὖν ἄλλως ποίησας,  
 15 μὴ ἵνα μοι ἐμπαίξῃς  
 καὶ ἀναγκάσῃς ἐμὲ ἄνωθεν  
 κατασπᾶν. ἔγραψα γὰρ σοὶ  
 καὶ τὴν διαφορὰν δι' ἐτέρας  
 ἐπιστολῆς. ἀσπάζου το[ῦ]ς σοὺς

20 [πάντας.] ἔρρωσο. μη(νός) Γερμανικέ[ου]  
κη̄.

(Back)

εἰς τὰ Δείου γυμνασι (vac.) ἀρχ(ου) Σαραπίω(νι) φροντιστ(ῆ).

1 φλ̄χ̄ς 5 l. ἡμῶν 6 ς 9 ζωῖλον 14 l. ποιήσης 20 μῷ 22 l. Δίου  
γυμνασι (space) ἀρχ̄σαραπῑφροντιστ̄

'Dius to Sarapion his dearest colleague, greetings.

'If wheat is being bought slowly, do not sell just now because soon we shall come up, god willing, and we have need of it.

'Moreover, do not sell the lentils for less than 8 drachmas.

'Demand the rest of the interest from Theagenes, and from Zoilus my brother and all the others.

'And demand my allowances.

'As for the beams of the outhouse, if you are about to put them in, lay them from west to east. So don't do it any other way, lest you play a trick on me and force me to pull it down again. I explained the advantage to you in another letter. Greetings to all your family.

'Farewell. The month Germaniceus, the 28th.'

(Back) '(Deliver) to the residence of Dius, gymnasiarch; for Sarapion, agent.'

1 Δίος. Gymnasiarch, cf. the address on the back (22). Not in P. J. Sijpesteijn, *Nouvelle liste des gymnasies* (1986) and apparently unattested, given the first-century palaeographical date and that we may suppose him to be gymnasiarch of Oxyrhynchus or of Alexandria (see 4 n.) with estates in the Oxyrhynchite nome.

τῶι φιλ(τάτω). This term in the heading of a letter tends to denote a colleague rather than a friend. Sarapion was a φροντιστής, cf. 22; for the functions and social status of φροντισταί see D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society* 79–82.

2 For the neuter plural with singular verb cf. Mayser, *Grammatik* ii<sup>3</sup>. 28–9.

4 ἀναβηρόμεθα (for the mark before its first λ see 10 n.) is more likely to imply travel from Alexandria to the Oxyrhynchite nome than from Oxyrhynchus itself out into the nome, given that 2 implies both market variations and the writer's ignorance of the local situation.

6 For καὶ . . . δέ see Denniston, *Greek Particles* 199ff.

Information on the price of lentils is limited; see XLVII 3345 46–7 n. If we may equate or nearly equate their price with that of wheat, 8 dr./art. is a figure widely attested in connection with the latter in the first and early second centuries. It is difficult to assess the 8 dr. figure as a market price because of the variations due to agricultural conditions and because much of the evidence relates to compulsory purchase. See XLI 2958 introd.

10 Mark like a check-mark before ἄλλου. There is another before ἀναβηρόμεθα in 4, which would be less clear were it not for this example in 10.

11 συντάξεις. Here this can hardly have its usual meaning of contributions for the maintenance of temple personnel, disbursed to them as wages or allowances, for which see e.g. J. D. Thomas in *Misc. Pap.* ii. (= *Pap. Flor.* XIX) 522–3. A closer parallel is XLII 3048 19, where the συντάξεις are estate payments, being monthly allowances for φροντισταί, γεωργοί and others. On that basis, Dius may have been seeking to extract from his associates their contributions to the estate running costs.

12 ἐξέδρα. See A. K. Orlandos and I. N. Travlos, *Λεξικὸν Ἀρχαίων Ἀρχιτεκτονικῶν Ὁρῶν* 103; LI 3644 20 n., where the sense 'barn', 'outhouse' is suggested; G. Husson, *OIKIA* 73–7, concluding that the common features of these structures, whatever their purpose, were that they were at ground-level (although they could have an upper floor; pp. 76–7) and open on one side.

12–14 The significance of laying the beams west-to-east (instead presumably of north-to-south) remains unclear. To emphasize the importance of spanning a flat-roofed building parallel with its shorter dimension seems too simple, although see below. Possibly this building was a lean-to with a sloping roof, where it would be important for the load-bearing capacity of the beams that they should slope down from the roof line, not lie horizontally from gable to gable. Such a roof, presumably tiled, would be unexpected, however; this type of roof would rather be found in a major public building; cf. the baths in LXIV 4441 col. ix where this was taken to be the implication of κεραμίδες ὀστράκινες (l. ὀστράκιναι), 23.

Whether the building was flat-roofed or sloping, placing the beams in the structurally less sound direction would mean less work (because there would be fewer beams—though since they would be longer and therefore more expensive, it would probably not mean less cost), and it may be this that Dius was afraid Sarapion would do.

15 For μη̄ ἴνα cf. A. Bülow-Jacobsen, *ZPE* 110 (1996) 125–6, with references. For ἐμπαίξῃ see *ibid.* 126.

20–1 The 28th of the month of Germaniceus (= Pachon) = May 23rd.

22 (Back) For the εἰς τὰ formula cf. XLI 2980 14 (where the note refers to the present papyrus) and III 529 18; LVIII 3952 11 n.; S. Llewelyn, *ZPE* 101 (1994) 71–8 and *New Documents Illustrating Early Christianity* 7 (1994), esp. 38ff.

Since Dius (see line 1) is sending the letter to his own address, he is either away from Oxyrhynchus (the solution perhaps favoured by the town site being the find spot of the papyrus) or possibly sending the letter from there to another property of his in the country, cf. 4 n.

A space has been left for the tie, bisecting γυμνασι | ἀρχ(ου), but there is no trace of the usual associated ink-marks (see XLVIII 3396 32 n.).

For φροντισταί cf. 1 n.

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## 4625. MAXIMUS TO OFELLIUS

21 3B.29/C(1–2)a

14 × 10 cm

Third century?  
Plate IV

This complete short business letter regarding the repayment of a debt is written in a striking large upright hand with few ligatures. It is probably the sender Maximus who has added the closing farewell in his own hand (perhaps showing Latin influence: note form of x), tight under the preceding text at lower right. The writing is along the fibres.

Μάξιμος Ὀφελλίω τῶι

τειμιωτάτω χαίρειν.

καλῶς ποιήσεις μεταβαλό-

μενος τὰς δύο μνᾶς Ἡρᾶ τῶ

5 ἀδελφῶ σου ἐπεὶ πάνυ ἐνο-

χλοῦμαι ὑπὸ τῶν πεπιστευ-

κότων. ἀλλ' ὄρα μὴ ἀμελ[λ]ήσης.  
 (m. 2) ἔρρωσθαί σε  
 εὐχομαι.

(Back, m. 1)

10 Ὀφελλίω \ /  
 π(αρά) Μαξίμου.  
 / \

2 1. τιμωτάτω 5 ἐπεὶ corr. 10 π'

'Maximus to the most honoured Ofellius, greetings.

'Be so good as to pay over the two minas to your brother Heras, since I am much pressed by the creditors. See you do not neglect this.'

(2nd hand) 'I pray for your health.'

(Back, 1st hand) 'To Ofellius' (*design*) 'from Maximus.'

1 There may be no connection between either Maximus or Ofellius and the Ofellius Maximus who occurs in the undated but third-century XL 2920 5.

3-4 καλῶς ποιήσεις μεταβαλλόμενος. So LIX 3979 3.

10 In the address on the back, the cross marking where the seal had been has its centre missing, as usual. See 4624 22 n.

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#### 4626. NILUS TO THALIA

12 1B.142/E(a)

11.5 × 12.2 cm

After 259

A letter devoted to family matters, cryptic in part, written on the back of the lower right corner of a petition from Aurelius Dioscorus dated 259 (year 6 of Valerian, Gallienus, and Valerian Caesar), in a fluid cursive hand of the later third century.

The letter shows six clear vertical folds. On the front, a vertical strip 2-3 cm broad was washed to take the address, at 90° to the petition and beginning from its foot. The structure is not fully clear; there may be a manufacturer's three-layer kollesis at the extreme right edge of the front.

→ Νεῖλος Θαλία χαίρειν.  
 ἔκομισάμην τὰ τυρία δι' Ἀντωνίνου,  
 καὶ ἀγαγνοῦσα τὴν ἐσφραγισμένην  
 ἐπιστολὴν γνώσει ὡς ἐλυπούμην.  
 5 ν[ὸν δ]έ, [γ]ράψας ὅ τι ἦν πρὸ μηνῶν δύο,

γράφεις, "ἐκομισάμην σου ἕτερα γράμματα  
 ὅπου [οὐδ]᾽ ἐν γράφεις." ταῦτ' οὖν παρώχεται.  
 ἐὰν γὰρ ε[ῦ]ρω τινὰ γνήσιον, πεμφθήσεταιί  
 10 σοι. πᾶν δὲ ποίησον πέμψαι μοι καὶ τὰς  
 ἐλαίας. [π]ε[ρ]ὶ ὧν χρήσεις γράφε μοι εἰδύια  
 [ὄ]τι οὐκ ἀμελώ. τὸν καλὸν Ἀγαθόποδα ἀσπά-  
 ραι καὶ εἰ κ[αὶ(?)] αὐτὸς ἡμῖν οὐ γράφει.  
 [ἐ]ρρωσθαί σε εὐχομαι, κυρία μου  
 ἀδελφή.

(Down left margin)

15 τὸν καλὸν Ἀγαθὸν [Δ]αίμονα ἀσπάζου. μάθε τὴν  
 σπουδὴν ἣν πεποιή[ται] τῇ φί[λ]η σου μηδὲν ἀναλωσάκη.

(Back, ↓)

Θαλία ≡ ≡ ≡  
 ≡ ≡ ≡ Νεῖλος  
 ≡ ≡ ≡

1, 17 1. Νίλος, Θαλία

'Nilus to Thalia, greetings.

'I received the small cheeses via Antoninus; when you read my sealed letter you will know how distressed I was. But now, although I wrote what the matter was two months ago, you write "I have received other letters from you in which you write nothing." Well, this is all in the past. For if I find someone reliable, it will be sent to you. Do your best to send me the olives also. Regarding what you need, write to me, knowing that I am not neglectful. Greetings to the excellent Agathopous, even if he too(?) does not write to us. I pray for your health, my lady sister.'

(Margin) 'Greetings to the excellent Agathus Daemon. Know the care which he has taken of your lady friend although she has spent nothing.'

(Address) 'To Thalia' (*ink marks*) 'Nilus.'

1 The name Thalia has not occurred before in a documentary text in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.

5 ff. These lines are not certainly articulated and understood.

11 Agathopous is commonly a slave name; for Oxyrhynchus cf. XLIV 3197 15.

13 Unexplained unaligned traces before the beginning of this line.

16 For σπουδὴν ποιείσθαι with the dative cf. the private letter O. Mich. 91 (there ἡμῶ).

17 On designs of this type associated with addresses see XLVIII 3396 32 n.

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τιμῶ καὶ ἀλύπους ποιῶ  
 καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀντιλέγου-  
 ςί μοι. οἱ νῦν κατασταθέν-  
 τες, ζητηθέντες ὑπ' ἐ-  
 15 μου πολλάκις καὶ εὐρε-  
 θέντες, οὐ κατηξίωσαν  
 ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ  
 ἀπελθόντες εἰςβάλλου-  
 ςι στρατιώτας εἰς τὰς δια-  
 20 φερούσας ἡμῖν οἰκίας. οὐ  
 θέλω οὖν οὐδὲ νῦν ἐνο-  
 χλῆσαι τῷ κυρίῳ μου τῷ  
 πραιποσίτῳ ἀλλὰ τιμῆ-  
 ςαι τοὺς μιτάτορας καὶ τι-  
 25 μηθῆναι παρ' αὐτῶν.  
 παρακαλῶ οὖν, κύριε υἱέ,  
 συμβούλευσον αὐτοῖς ἐλ-  
 θεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ· ἄτοπον γάρ  
 ἔστιν ὑβρισεθῆναι ἡμᾶς  
 30 οὐδέποτε ὑβρισεθέντας ἐπὶ  
 τῶν ξένων, μάλιστα σοῦ τοῦ  
 υἱοῦ δομεστικοῦ ὄντος. οὐ δυ-  
 νηθεὶς δὲ ἐλθεῖν διὰ τὴν ἀνα-  
 χώρησιν γράφω. ἐρρωῶσθαί σε  
 35 εὐχομαι πολλοῖς χρο-  
 νοῖς, κύριε υἱέ.

10, 24 1. μιτάτορας 14 ὑπ 21 λ of θέλω corr. 29 ὑβρισεθῆναι 30 ὑβρισεθεντας

'To my lord son Colluthus, Gerontius, greeting.

'God knows! I never bothered a *praepositus* about lodging for my assistants or boatmen or dependents or any other person belonging to me, but from the time the Moors were here I show respect to the billeting officers and keep them free of anxiety and they never contradict me. Those now appointed, although I have sought *them* out often and found them, have not condescended to come to us, but go off and thrust soldiers into the houses which belong to us. I do not want, then, even now to bother my lord the *praepositus*, but to show respect to the billeting officers and to be shown respect by them. Please, then, my lord

son, advise them to come to me, for it is absurd for us to be harassed when we have never been harassed over visiting troops (before), especially as you, my son, are a *domesticus*. I am writing since I am unable to come because of the subsidence of the flood (? or 'the (= my?) departure'?). I pray for your health for many years, my lord son.'

3 οὐδεν ὁ θεός. See M. Naldini, *Il Cristianesimo in Egitto* 14.

4 ἠνώχλησα. For the double augment (usual in Attic) in the papyri, see F. Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 253.

4-5 πραιποσίτῳ could mean the *praepositus pagi* or more probably a military *praepositus*. Gerontius could appeal to the *praepositus pagi* as the highest civil officer involved in the administration of the territory. In the Abinnacus archive (cf. P. Sak. 46 = P. Thead. 22 and P. Sak. 47 = P. Thead. 23 = P. Abinn. 44) there are examples of people applying to the *praepositus pagi* and to military officers at the same time. Since Gerontius is writing to a *domesticus* (32), it seems likely that the *praepositus* mentioned in 4-5 and 23 is a military commander, and Gerontius is seeking help against the billeting officers through the commander's adjutant.

5-6 τῶν βρηθῶν μου ἢ ναυτῶν. Who are these people, and what is Gerontius' position when he refers to them as his own? It seems clear, first of all, that they are travelling persons who might be lodged in billets, except that Gerontius has never sought this privilege for them. The implication here might be that such people were not officially entitled to such lodgings, but that others in a similar position to Gerontius did use their influence to obtain billets for their subordinates unofficially. Gerontius was perhaps a municipal notable rather than a government official; he was obviously wealthy: note e.g. the plural τὰς διαφερούσας ἡμῖν οἰκίας, 19-20. If *ναυτῶν* means more than just the crew of his personal river transport, perhaps he operated a business based on commercial river traffic; if so, this might be the context for his inability to travel because of τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, 33-4 (cf. note ad loc.), although the connection remains obscure.

9-10 ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Μαῦροι ἐνθάδε ἦσαν. A *cuneus* of Mauri formed a well-attested garrison troop at Hermopolis from 340 (BGU I 21) to the early sixth century. Another *cuneus* stationed at Lycopolis is attested by *Not. Dign.* Or. 31, 23, LXIII 4381 (375), and BGU XII 2137 (426). To the references given by F. Mitthof, *Proc. XX Congr. Pap.* 260-2 and n. 13, add O. Oasis p. 29 (text 11), SPP III 293 and VIII 999 (F. A. J. Hoogendijk, *Aeg.* 74 (1994) 25-31), SPP VIII 1050, LX 4084 (6.5.339) and Hoogendijk, *APP* 42 (1996) 225-34 with a good bibliography on p. 231. (We owe these references to Dr Bernhard Palme.)

The words appear to mean 'since the Mauri *were* here', implying that the letter was written from an area where the Mauri were no longer stationed, unless the Greek can be interpreted as 'since the Mauri *came* here', which is very doubtful. It would be tempting to believe that the letter was exchanged between men both living in the area of Oxyrhynchus and that this text gives the first indication that Mauri were there for a very short period in or before 339, before going on to Hermopolis and/or Lycopolis. However, the only item which might be brought forward as supporting evidence is LX 4084 (6 May 339), the head of a document in which the local *curator civitatis* was addressed by the wife of a soldier of the *numerus* of *equites Mauri scularii comitatenses*; she was temporarily resident in Oxyrhynchus, he was 'with the vexillation' (μετὰ τῆς οὐρηξίλλατιωνος), although the following word, restored as [?ἐκδη]μο[?]γτος, is obviously very uncertain and cannot be taken to prove that he was absent from Oxyrhynchus.

ἐνθάδε, 9-10, might at first sight imply somewhere else than Oxyrhynchus since of course the letter was found there. The opposite is more likely to be true: Gerontius appeals to a *local* official to help with his problems, and is therefore himself in Oxyrhynchus or nearby. Note that he asks that the billeting officers should come to see him, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς ἐμέ, 27-8, so that he can hardly be very far away. The difficulty is τὴν ἀναχώρησιν, 33-4, but see the note ad loc. on the possible implications of this.

10 τοὺς μιτάτορας. *Metatores* were charged with requisitions for military quartering, see E. Fabricius, *PWXV*, 2 s.v.; R. Rémondon, *Rech. Pap.* 1 (1961) 61-5 (on SB VI 9613); SB I 2253 and V 8651. For the *metatum* or *hospitalitas* see B. Kramer, *ZPE* 77 (1989) 213; a further example is A. Bernand, *De Thèbes à Syène*, no. 196 (Byz.; with J. Gascou, *Trav. et Mém.* 12 (1994) 323-42). See also C. Theod. VII 8; C. Just. XII, 40; A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* 249-53; W. Goffart, *Barbarians and Romans* (Princeton 1980) 40-55.

This might be the place to suggest that we ought to recognize the word \*σταβλομῆτων (first *o* corrected from *ω*, as several times in this text) in SB XX 15008.12, seemingly a partly requisitioned stable block with spaces still vacant on upper floors and available for the owner to let. This is a typical late formation, like ἀνωκοκῆπιτον: cf. J. R. Rea, *ZPE* 114 (1996) 162–3; on its Latin termination see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar of the Post-Ptolemaic Papyri* 45–6.

10–11 τοὺς μιτάτορας . . . ἀλύπους ποιῶ. There is a similarity here to the passage in Gascou's first inscription, *Trav. et Mém.* 12 (1994) 331 Texte I.9–11 εἰς οἴκησιν τῶν εἰσερχομένων στρατιωτῶν εἰς ἀμεριμνίαν τε τῶν ἐρευθερικῶν (l. ἐλευ-) μιτάτων, 'for the accommodation of incoming soldiers and for the relief of the billets provided by townspeople(?)'; see Gascou's commentary. The passages differ of course in that Gerontius claims to be keeping the billeting officers free of annoyance by not demanding accommodation for his own personnel, while the Thebaid military authorities claim to be building their hostel for the benefit of the travelling soldiers and to save annoyance to the local providers of billets.

31 ξένων. These ξένοι seem to be the same as, or at least include, the soldiers mentioned before, who had been billeted in houses belonging to the writer or his associates (18–20). This is very reminiscent again of the twin inscriptions revised by Gascou, art. cit. (above, 10 n., 10–11 n.). One face of the slab, the earlier according to the convincing arguments of Gascou, commemorates the building of a hostel or *mansiō*, ἀπαντητήριον, for the accommodation of visiting 'soldiers', εἰς οἴκησιν τῶν εἰσερχομένων στρατιωτῶν. The other face commemorates the clearance of a building site, probably the same site at a later date as Gascou argues, on the initiative of the local commander and his subordinate officers and probably by local troops, and the rebuilding, by the local populace on the initiative of the local bishop, of an οἰκη[τ]ήρι[ο]ν τῶν ξένων καὶ τῶν παρερχομένων, 'a hostel for visitors and passing travellers'. There can hardly be any doubt that these are persons entitled to official accommodation, in other words troops, officials, and civilians whose business has been judged to be important enough to the government to justify the issue to them of an official travel warrant. Similarly in our text στρατιῶται is used for convenience to cover real military personnel and the *militia officialis*, and others with a travel warrant, and the same group is referred to as ξένοι.

32 δομestικoῦ. The *domesticus* was the personal assistant of a military officer; see P. Abinn., p. 28. For this and the more exalted categories of *domestici* see A. H. M. Jones, *LRE* II 602–3, 636–40. The only example of the word in the Duke databank that is anywhere near contemporary with 4628 is P. Abinn. 25.11.

33–4 τὴν ἀναχώρησιν. It is not clear in what sense this word should be taken. If it referred to the annual retreat of the Nile flood in late September—cf. Diodorus Siculus I 10.7 (cited in LSJ: τοῦ ποταμοῦ (i.e. the Nile) τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιουμένων; for a documentary parallel cf. P. Petr. II 13 fr. 19.9)—it would not be clear why this should impede Gerontius' movement. This would be precisely the period in which navigation once more became practicable. However, the same word might well have been used of the later stages of the same process at the start of the following summer, when the falling level of the river certainly placed restrictions on travel by water: cf. LVI 3860 11–14 (1 Mecheir = 26/27 January) πέμψωσιν μοι αὐτά, ἕως ἐν ὕδαρ εἰς τὴν διώρυγαν. ἐὰν δὲ διαβῶσιν οἱ δύο μῆνες οδοῖ, οὐκ εὕρεσκουσιν ὕδαρ εἰς τὴν διώρυγα καὶ οὐκέτι δύνασθε καταβῆνε ὕδαρ; probably the same situation (*pace* edd.) in XVIII 2182 30–2 (24 Pharmuthi = 19 April) (εἰς τὸ ἔτι τοῦ ποταμοῦ πλεῖσθαι δυναμένου τὴν καταγωγὴν γενέσθαι ἤδη μὲν τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπονοστοῦντος.

It may be that τὴν ἀναχώρησιν is no more than a reference to a journey by Gerontius from Oxyrhynchus itself out to the countryside, which made a return to the city inconvenient.

R. MAZZA

#### 4629. LETTER TO A COUNTESS

64 6B.59/C (1–3) a

15.5 × 14.5 cm

Sixth/seventh century  
Plate IV

This almost square papyrus is used for a letter written *transversa charta* (a horizontal

kollesis is visible between the third and the fourth line). The back, along the fibres, provides the address as well as three more lines which end the letter, parallel to the address but the other way up. The main text is written in a large, sloping and almost unligatured script, resembling LVI 3866 and G. Cavallo and H. Maehler, *Greek Bookhands of the Early Byzantine Period* no. 31b, and may be assigned to the second half of the sixth century, if not slightly later. The address shows a different script, formal and stylized, comparable to the address of LVI 3867.

This initially personal letter is however mainly concerned with business matters, in particular with instructions on obtaining amounts of honey, money and wool from different people. From the use of οὖν in 6 it looks as if these new arrangements were prompted by the failure of a plan to have the goods sent by boat (3–5). An interesting feature is the title κομητίσση, given in the address, since this is the first occurrence of the word in a papyrus document.

↓ † πρὸ μὲν πάντων πολλὰ προσκυνῶ  
τῇ σῇ γλυκυτάτῃ μου μητρὶ μετὰ παντός  
τοῦ οἴκου μου. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πλοίου τοῦ κυρίου  
Ἰωάννου πολλάκις ἔπεμψα πρὸς αὐτὸν  
5 καὶ οὐκ ἔδωκέν μοι ἀπόκρισιν. παρακα-  
λῶ οὖν τῇ σῇ μητριότητι — ἰδοὺ ἀπέστילά σοι  
τὸν Εὐτύχιον μαῦρον — πάντος, ὡς ποιήσῃς  
τὸ ἐσῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐμὸν ποιήσῃς· περὶ δὲ  
10 τοῦ ἐνὸς νομίσματος μέλιτος παρα-  
λαβεῖν διὰ Πανηοῦτος Πευαρ· καὶ περὶ  
τῶν δύο νομισμάτων τῶν ἀφιλό-  
ντων, λαβεῖν παρὰ Ἀμμωνος υἱοῦ  
Κάρου· καὶ περὶ τῶν δύο μνάς ἐρέας  
15 παρακαλῶ ζητῆσαι παρὰ Λιμενίου καὶ  
αὐτὰ πέμψον μοι. γράψον [[δ]]μοι δὲ τὴν

Back, other way up:

→ ὑγίαν ὑμῶν καὶ τοῦ κυρίου Σαραπίωνος  
καὶ τοῦ κυρίου Μαρτυρίου. πολλὰ  
προσκυνῶ †

Back, turned 180°:

→ (m. 2?) † ἐπίδ(ος) τῇ . . . τ(άτη) κυρῆ κομητίσση π(αρά) κυρῆς . . .  
20 να . . .

4 ἰωαννου 6 ἴδου 1. ἀπέστειλα (c corr. from λ) 7 1. πάντως, ποιήσεις? 8 1. εὐών  
9 εὐός 10 πεῦαρ 11, 13 δῶο 11-12 1. ὀφειλομένων? 12 υἱού 13 μῦας; 1. μῶων  
15 1. αὐτάς 16 ὑγιαν? 1. ὑγίειαν ὑμων 19 ἐπιΔ π

'First of all I greet my sweetest mother many times, along with my entire household. Concerning the boat of the lord John, I often sent to him and he gave me no answer. So I ask your Motherhood—see, I have sent Euty chius the black man to you—at all costs, as you would do your own business, do also mine. Concerning the one solidus' worth of honey, get it through Paneous (alias? or the son of?) Peuar. Concerning the two solidi which are owing(?), collect them from Ammon, the son of Carus, and concerning the two minae of wool, please seek them from Limenius and send them to me. Write to me about' (back) 'your health and that of the lord Sarapion and the lord Martyrius. I send many greetings.'

Address (2nd hand?): 'Deliver to the . . . lady countess, from the lady(?) . . .'

1 πρὸ μὲν πάντων πολλὰ προσκυνῶ is a common opening of Greek letters, and cf. also Coptic letters (Mich. III 10 ΖΑΘΗ ΜΕΝ ἠζωq HIM ἴΠΡΟΚΥΝΕ; Mich. IV 4 ΨΟΡῆ ΜΕΝ ἴΠΡΟΚΥ).

2 The sequence and dative are odd (the accusative is expected, as it is after παρακαλῶ in 6). γλυκυτάτη μήτηρ may sometimes function as a general polite form of address, but the adjective is more commonly used among relatives, cf. H. Koskenniemi, *Studien zur Idee und Phraseologie des griechischen Briefes bis 400 n. Chr.* (1956) 103. We suspect that the writer intended τὴν εὐὴν γλυκυτάτην μητρι(ότητα) (cf. line 6), but conflated (also wrongly using the dative) τῇ εὐὴ γλυκυτάτη μητριότητι and τῇ γλυκυτάτη μου μητρί.

2-3 μετὰ παντός τοῦ οἴκου μου. Cf. P. Herm. 43.5.

6 τῇ εὐὴ μητριότητι. 1. τὴν εὐὴν μητριότητα. \*μητριότης has not been attested before. On feminine abstracts in -ότης see L. R. Palmer, *Grammar* 115-6, including πατριότης (examples in P. Lond. VI 1916.32, P. L. Bat. XI 28). Most are formed from 2nd decl. adjectives, e.g. πατριότης from πάτριος; therefore μητριότης from μήτριος is unexceptionable. (μετριότης cannot be meant, since it is commonly used not as a form of address but as a speaker's reference to the self; cf. P. Panop. 29.11 n.)

7 The adjective μαῦρος may simply indicate Euty chius' dark skin colour: cf. A. Jördens, *ZPE* 92 (1992) 229 line 3 n.; A. Łajtar, *JJP* 27 (1997) 43-54, esp. 45 and n. 9. At so late a date it is unlikely that Euty chius was one of the *Mauri Scularii*, for whom cf. 4628 9-10 n. For Euty chius' possible function as a mailman sent in connection with the letter, who is supposed to take the reply and the goods back with him, cf. P. Ross. Georg. V 12d (VII) ]ον στέλλω ὑμῖν μετὰ πάσης εὐχαρισ[ίας | ]ως τοὺς δύο γραμματηφόρους μ[αύ]ρους.

The order τὸν Εὐτύχιον μαῦρον is unexpected, and hardly to be justified by the order in P. Ross. Georg. V 12d just cited, where γραμματηφόρους may be the adjective and μ[αύ]ρους the noun.

For ποιήσεις = ποιήσεις and the use of the future in such expressions, cf. LIX 4003 4-6 and n.

8 ἐόν (ἐσών pap.). For this spelling of εὐών cf. Gignac, *Grammar* ii. 172.

9 ἐνός is marked by a supralinear horizontal stroke, as if to characterize it as a number. The same appears in line 11 and 13 where the word δύο is similarly marked. Lines added above numerals written out in full are not unusual in Greek and Coptic documents of the late Byzantine and early Arab periods; cf. e.g. XVI 1968 1 (VI), LVIII 3938 17 (601), P. Mich. XIII 665.9, *et passim* (613-41), XVI 1939 4 (VI/VII), SB XX 15186.3, 4, 5 (VII/VIII), P. Rain. Cent. 121.5 (719/20), or the Coptic CPR IV 46 (VI/VII).

10 Peuar is Paneous' patronymic or alias. The name is attested in Greek and Coptic texts in the forms Πουάρ, Πουάρικ, Πευρικ, ΠΟΥΑΡ: cf. D. Foraboschi, *Onomasticon Aethiopicum* s.v.; W. E. Crum, *Coptic Dictionary* 510b; G. Heuser, *Die Personennamen der Kopten* i. 31, 32, 73. It consists of the masculine article π (ε) and the word ΟΥΖΟΡ (spelled ΟΥΖΑΡ e.g. in the Coptic dialect M (Oxyrhynchite)), which stems from the Egyptian *wḥr* 'dog'. The second consonant ζ (ΟΥ has consonantal value; cf. W. C. Till, *Koptische Grammatik* (1966) § 89) is a weakly articulated *h* and may sometimes be omitted; cf. Till, § 22. Before a noun beginning with two consonants we

should normally have the fuller form of the article (cf. Till, § 88), that is ΠΕ (sing. masc.) in our case; but since ζ can be omitted, the name commonly appears in a form which employs the shorter version of the article (ΠΟΥΑΡ). Here, however, the fuller form of the article has been used, with the result that ε and ΟΥ have been contracted to ΕΥ; cf. Till, §§ 19, 91.

The line above the name indicates that the word was not Greek; this practice is well attested, cf. P. Berl. Sarisch. 14.5 n.

11-12 An alternative approach to ὀφειλόντων (ὠφιλόντων pap.) would be to link it with the following infinitive in an idiomatic construction as periphrastic future; see N. Gonis, *Tyche* 13 (1998) 260. However, λαβεῖν would be awkward (where we would rather expect λημφθῆναι), while the construction beyond would raise fresh problems.

13 μῦας (1. μῶων). The Ν is marked by a supralinear horizontal line; might that be an influence from Coptic writing?

15 γράψον [[δ]]μοι. Apparently the scribe was about to write δέ but then decided to put μοι first.

17-18 πολλά προσκυνῶ. This formula is infrequently found at the closure of Greek letters: cf. XVI 1829 and 1865, LVI 3867 21, CPR XIV 51. In Coptic letters, however, the ΠΡΟΚΥΝΕΙ-formula occurs fairly frequently at the end of a letter; cf. A. Biedenkopf-Ziehner, *Untersuchungen zum koptischen Briefformular unter Berücksichtigung ägyptischer und griechischer Parallelen* (1983) 95.

19 The address, written in a stylized address script (cf. LVI 3867 introd. and plate VIII) but perhaps without a change of writer, is obscured by mud and dirt as well as surface abrasion. A reconstruction cannot be given with certainty. The addressee is styled κομήτισσα, a title attested only in literary sources of the Byzantine period. See J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance (4e-7e siècle)* ii (1992) 311-2. According to the lexica of Lampe and Sophokles, she was the wife of a κόμης. On -ισσα see Palmer, op. cit. 93. The sender of the letter appears also to be a woman. As parallels suggest (cf. P. Lond. V 1885.7 (V/VI), 1789.6 (VI), LVIII 3932 15 (VI), P. Sorb. I 62.6 (VI)), we should expect something like ἐπίδ(ος) τῇ γλυκυτ(άτη) (vel sim.) κυρά (or Κύρα) κομητίσση π(αρά) κυράς (or Κύρας) and her name or position.

G. SCHENKE

## VI. SCHOLIA MINORA TO HOMER, ILIAD II

Numbers in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* series have been allocated in advance to the items listed below, which have been edited by Dr Joseph Spooner for publication in *Studi e Testi di Papirologia* NS vol. I (Firenze).

<b>4630</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II 24-40 (?55)	72/19(a)
<b>4631</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II 50-109	51 4B.18/H(1-3)a
<b>4632</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II 214-27	19 2B.82/K(a)
<b>4633</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II 277-318 (294-306 in lacuna)	70/39(a)
<b>4634</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II 303-36	19 2B.81/C(t)
<b>4635</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II 303-28 (308-20 in lacuna) and 463-93 (471-8 in lacuna)	66 6B.28/F(1)b + 68 6B.19/J(1-3)f
<b>4636</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II ?593-645	31 4B.13/K(1-2)a
<b>4637</b>	<i>Scholia minora</i> to II ?632-55	49 5B.100/H(1-2)b
<b>4638</b>	<i>Iliad</i> II 191-287 (227-53 in lacuna) with marginal gloss and speaker indications	9 1B.181/E(c)

## INDEXES

Figures in small raised type refer to fragments, small roman numerals to columns. Square brackets indicate that a word is wholly or substantially restored by conjecture or from other sources, round brackets that it is expanded from an abbreviation or a symbol. An asterisk denotes a word not recorded in *LSJ* or its *Revised Supplement*. The article is not indexed.

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## SEVERUS AND CARACALLA

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν ἀήττητοι Αυτοκράτορες Σεουῆρος καὶ Ἀντωνίνος **4593** 6-7  
Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Λούκιος Σεπτίμιος Σεουῆρος Εὐσεβῆς Περτίναξ Σεβαστός Ἀραβικός Ἀδιαβηνικός Παρθικός Μέγιστος καὶ Αυτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Ἀντωνίνος Εὐσεβῆς Σεβαστός **4593** 1-2

## SEVERUS ALEXANDER

Μάρκος Αἰρήλιος Σεουῆρος Ἀλέξανδρος Καίσαρ ὁ κύριος **4590** 2-3, 9-10, 17-18 (year 10)

## MAGRIANUS AND QUIETUS

Αυτοκράτορες Καίσαρες Τίτος Φούλουιος Ιούλιος Μακριανός καὶ Τίτος Φούλουιος Ιούλιος Κυῆτος Εὐτυχεῖς Εὐσεβείς Σεβαστοί **4595** 41-6 (year 2)

## DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN AUGUSTI, CONSTANTIUS AND GALERIUS CAESARS

οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Διοκλητιανός καὶ Μαξιμιανός Σεβαστοὶ καὶ οἱ κύριοι ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος καὶ Μαξιμιανός οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι Καίσαρες Σεβαστοί **4597** 25-7 (year 11, 10 and 3)

## II. RULERS AND REGNAL YEARS

## CONSTANTIUS AUGUSTUS AND JULIAN CAESAR

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ Ἰουλιανός ὁ ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ **4606** 6-7 (oath formula)

οἱ δεσπότες ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίος αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος καὶ Ἰουλιανός ὁ ἀνδρειότατος καὶ ἐπιφανέστατος Καίσαρ **4598** 4-6 (oath formula)

## JULIAN

ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανός αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος **4608** 5-6 **4610** 7 **4612** i 6-7 (oath formula) **4611** i 3-4 (oath formula, restored)

## JOVIAN

ὁ δεσπότης ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανός αἰώνιος Αὔγουστος **4613** 6 (oath formula)

## III. CONSULS

AD 294 ὑπατείας τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Κωνσταντίου καὶ Μαξιμιανού τῶν ἐπιφανεστάτων Καيسάρων **4597** 1-2  
AD 361 ὑπατείας Φλαουῶν Ταύρου καὶ Φλωρεντίου τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4598** i **4600** 2 **4601** 2 **4602** 1-2 **4603** i **4604** 2 **4605** 2 **4606** i  
AD 362 ὑπατείας Κλαυδίου Μαμερτίνου καὶ Φλαουίου Νεβιέττα τῶν λαμπροτάτων **4608** i **4609** i  
AD 363 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανού αἰώνιου Αὔγουστου τὸ δ' καὶ Φλαουῖου Καλλουστίου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου ἐπάρχου τοῦ ἱεροῦ πραιτωρίου **4610** 1-2 **4612** i 1-2 (damaged)

AD 364 ὑπατείας τοῦ δεσπότη ἡμῶν Ἰουλιανού αἰώνιου Αὔγουστου [τὸ α] καὶ Οὐαρρριανού τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου **4613** i  
AD 505 ὑπατεία Φλαουῶν Καβιανού καὶ Θεοδώρου τῶν ἐνδοξοτάτων **4615** 2  
AD 525 ὑπατείας Φλαουῖου Φιλοξένου τοῦ λαμπροτάτου **4616** i

## IV. INDICATIONS AND ERAS

## (a) INDICATIONS

4th indiction **4605** 7 (= AD 360/1) **4616** i (= AD 525/6)  
5th indiction **4598** 9 **4599** 4 **4600** 8 **4604** 9 **4606** 8 (all AD 361/2) **4621** 3 (fifth/sixth century)  
6th indiction **4607** i 7 **4608** 7 **4609** 7 **4611** ii 14 (all AD 362/3)

7th indiction **4611** ii 4 **4612** i 8, ii 4 **4613** 8, back i (all AD 363/4)  
9th indiction **4620** i (fifth/sixth century)  
14th indiction **4615** 2, 10 (= AD 505-6) **4623** 2 (late sixth century)

## (b) ERA

182/151 = AD 505/6 **4615** 9

## V. MONTHS AND DAYS

## (a) MONTHS

Ἀθύρ **4591** 8 **4597** 27 **4602** 2 **4622** 4  
Γερμανίκεος **4624** 20  
Δεκέμβριος **4593** 4

Ἐπιφῆ **4598** i **4605** 2  
Θῶθ **4606** i **4615** 2  
Μεσορή **4611** ii 17 **4612** ii 10 **4621** 3

Μεχείρ **4585** 33

Παῦνι **4594** 16 **4600** 2 **4601** 2 **4610** 2

Παχών **4627** 16

Σεβαστός **4582** 10 **4583** 11, 18 **4588** 8, 18

εἶδοι **4593** 4

Τῦβι **4596** 10

Φαρμοῦθι **4592** 13

Φαῶφι **4595** 46 **4603** 1 **4616** 1

Χοιάκ **4623** 2

(b) Days

νεομηνία **4596** 9–10

VI. DATES

14 September 16 **4582** 10

26 September 33 **4588** 8, 18

15 September 45 **4583** 11, 18–19

18–22 November 231? **4591** 4, 6–7, 8, 10

15 October 261 **4595** 46

19 November 294 **4597** 27

14 June 361 **4600** 2

22 June 361 **4601** 2

29 June 361 **4605** 2

10 July 361 **4598** 1

17 October 361 **4603** 1

13 June 363 **4610** 2

3 September 505 **4615** 2

30 September 525 **4616** 1

VII. PERSONAL NAMES

Ἀγαθίνος h. of Taÿsis, f. of Aurelius Amois **4594** 4

Ἀγαθίνος f. of Syradion **4607** ii 7

Ἀγαθίνος f. of Aur. Petrus **4608** 3 **4609** 3

Ἀγαθόπου **4626** 11

Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων **4626** 15

Ἄλιος *see* Index II s.v. Antoninus Pius

Ἄλιος Πρίμος **4593** 2

Ἀκύλας *see* *Κουβατιανὸς Ἀκύλας*

Ἀλέξανδρος **4590** 6 (-rius alias A.)

Ἀλέξανδρος h. of Apia, f. of Aur. Polydeuces, gd.-f. of Aurelia Aphrodite **4596** 2

Ἀλέξανδρος *see also* *Φλάουιος Ἀλέξανδρος*, Index II s.v. Severus Alexander

Ἀμάϊς f. of Paulus **4611** ii 13

Ἀμμενεὺς f. of Horus, gd.-f. of Heracles **4588** 1

Ἄμμων s. of Carus **4629** 12

Ἀμμωνιανός **4607** ii 8

Ἀμμώνιος s. of Diogenes(?) **4589** [46]

Ἀμμώνιος f. of Ammonius **4586** 6, 45

Ἀμμώνιος s. of Ammonius, h. of Philoxena **4586** 5–6, 44–5 (*Ἀμμώνιος*)

Ἀμμώνιος *see also* *Ἀδρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος*

Ἀμούϊς s. of Horus **4588** 9, 18

Ἀμούϊς *see also* *Ἀδρήλιος Ἀμούϊς*

Ἀνίκητος **4591** 7

Ἀννιανός *tribunus* **4612** i 16

Ἀντίοχος h. of Sarapias **4607** iii 12

Ἀντωνίνος **4626** 2

Ἀντωνίνος *see* Index II s.vv. Antoninus, Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, Commodus, Severus and Caracalla

Ἀντώνιος *see* *Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντώνιος*

Ἀπελλῆς *see* *Κλαύδιος Ἀπελλῆς*

Ἀπία w. of Alexander, m. of Aur. Polydeuces, gd.-m. of Aurelia Aphrodite **4596** 2

Ἀπίων toparch **4588** 1, 11

Ἀπίων **4589** 17, 23

Ἀπίων s. of Apolinarius **4607** iii 2

Ἀπίων s. of Sarapion **4607** iii 8

Ἀπίων f. of Aur. Ammonius **4608** 3 **4612** i 5

Ἀπίων f. of Fl. Strategius **4615** 5

Ἀπολιναρίος councillor **4592** verso

Ἀπολιναρίος f. of Apion **4607** iii 2

Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Theodulus **4607** ii 10

Ἀπολλώνιος f. of Heliodora **4607** ii 6

Ἀπολλώνιος *amphodogammateus* **4593** 9

Ἀπολλώνιος *see also* *Ἀδρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος*, *Σεπτίμιος Ἀπολλώνιος*

Ἀρθώνιος **4585** 2, 34

Ἀριστίων **4607** ii 14

Ἀριστοῦς w. of Patermuthius, m. of Aur. Demetrammon **4597** 4

Ἀρποκρατίων alias Ischyron **4585** 11–12

Ἀρσινόη **4607** ii 5

Ἀρσίνοος f. of Aur. Dorotheus **4608** 4 **4609** 4

Ἀσύχης s. of Peteyris **4583** 2, 16

Ἀϋγουετος *see* Index II, III

Ἀδρήλια Ἀφροδίτη d. of Aur. Polydeuces and Dionysia **4596** 7

Ἀδρήλια Διονυσία d. of Theon alias Dionysiotheon **4595** 1–2

Ἀδρήλια Ἡράκλεια d. of Diogenes **4590** 3–4, 19, 29

Ἀδρήλια Τιαρία **4614** 3

Ἀδρήλιος *see* Index II s.vv. Marcus Aurelius, Marcus Aurelius and Verus, Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, Commodus, Severus and Caracalla, Severus Alexander

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος (former?) *agoranomus*, councillor **4590** 25

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀμμώνιος s. of Apion, councillor, overseer of wheat/barley **4608** 3 **4612** i 5

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀμούϊς s. of Agathinus and Taÿsis **4594** 4

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀντώνιος *sitologus* **4590** 14

Ἀδρήλιος Ἀπολλώνιος guardian **4595** 4–5

Ἀδρήλιος Βίκτωρ s. of Isak and Martha, farmer **4616** 6

Ἀδρήλιος Γεννάδιος s. of Julianus; councillor, overseer of barley **4610** 4(?), 16(?) **4613** 3

Ἀδρήλιος Δημητράμμων s. of Patermuthius and Aristous **4597** 4, 6, 8, 13, 20

Ἀδρήλιος Διογένης s. of Serenus **4594** 1

Ἀδρήλιος Διοσκουρίδης alias Julianus(?), s. of Julianus (alias?) Dioscurides; councillor, overseer of wheat **4606** 3

Ἀδρήλιος Δωρόθεος s. of Arsinous, councillor, overseer of wheat/barley **4608** 4 **4609** 4

Ἀδρήλιος Εὐτρίγιος s. of Leucadius, former magistrate, councillor, *praepositus pagi*, *curialis* **4598** 3 **4599** 6, 9, 13, 16 **4600** 5 **4601** 7

Ἀδρήλιος Ἡράκλειος s. of Heraclius, πρόεδρος, prytanis **4602** 4 **4603** 4 **4604** 5 **4605** 4

Ἀδρήλιος Θώνιος ἱετωνάρχης, s. of Pete- and Thaisous **4596** 3, 6, 12, 16, 18, 21, 25

Ἀδρήλιος Ἱερακαπόλλων alias Epimachus, (former?) gymnasiarch, f. of Dionysius **4590** 11, 21

Ἀδρήλιος Ἱεραξ s. of Sapirion, councillor of Pelusium, overseer of the annona **4600** 3, 12

Ἀδρήλιος Ἱεραξ s. of Julianus; councillor, overseer of barley **4610** 5

Ἀδρήλιος Κλήμης s. of Clemens, councillor of Pelusium **4600** 4, 13

Ἀδρήλιος Μαρρηξ(?) *chrysones*(?) **4604** 4, [15]

Ἀδρήλιος Πετοσίρις *sitologus* **4590** 24, 31

Ἀδρήλιος Πέτρος s. of Agathinus, councillor, overseer of wheat/barley **4608** 3 **4609** 3

Ἀδρήλιος Πλουτίων **4594** 2

Ἀδρήλιος Πολυδεύκης s. of Alexander and Apia, h. of Dionysia, f. of Aurelia Aphrodite **4596** 1, 5, 17

Ἀδρήλιος Πόσις s. of Dionycasius, councillor of Pelusium, banker **4605** 3, 9, 10

Ἀδρήλιος Ποτάμμων s. of Eutychius, former magistrate of Pelusium, *chrysones*(?) **4604** 4, [14]

Ἀδρήλιος Πτολεμίνος alias Sarmates, exegetes, councillor, conveyor of chaff **4597** 3, 5, 9, 14, 19, 22, 28

Ἀδρήλιος Σαραπίων s. of Plutarchus, councillor, overseer of wheat/barley **4606** 4, 19 **4608** 4, 15 **4609** 3–4 **4610** 5, 17 **4613** 4

Ἀδρήλιος Σαραπίων s. of Herm-, overseer of army supplies **4607** 2

Ἀδρήλιος Σαραπίων (councillor, overseer of barley) **4613** 16

Ἀδρήλιος Σερήνος s. of Eusebius, councillor, overseer of wheat/barley **4610** 5 **4612** i 4 **4613** 3, 14

Ἀδρήλιος Τιμαγένης s. of Serenus, councillor, overseer of wheat/barley **4612** i 19 **4613** 4

Ἀδρήλιος Τρόφων alias Diogenes **4590** 15

Ἀφθόνιος **4607** ii 3

Ἀφροδίτη w. of Stephanus, m. of Philotera **4589** 27, 33, 38, 44

Ἀφροδίτη *see also* *Ἀδρήλια Ἀφροδίτη*

Βίκτωρ wine merchant **4621** 1

Βίκτωρ wine steward **4622** 1

Βίκτωρ *see also* *Ἀδρήλιος Βίκτωρ*

Γαιανός **4607** iii 1

Γάϊος *see* *Γούλιος*

Γεννάδιος *see* *Ἀδρήλιος Γεννάδιος*

Γερόντιος **4628** 2

Γερόντιος s. of Posidonius **4607** iii 3

Γερόντιος s. of Paeanius **4611** ii 6, 15

Δημητράμμων *see* *Ἀδρήλιος Δημητράμμων*

Δημήτριος **4584** 12–13

Δίδυμος **4589** (37)

Διογένης: C. Julius Diogenes **4587** 6

Διογένης steward **4591** 3

Διογένης: Aurelius Tryphon(?) alias Diogenes **4590** 15

Διογένης f. of Aurelia Heraclia **4590** 4, 19, 29

Διογένης **4582** 7, 17 **4594** 20

Διογένης f. of Ammonius(?) **4589** (47)

Διογένης *see also* *Ἀδρήλιος Διογένης*

- Διοκλητιανός* see Index II s.v. Diocletian and Maximian Augusti, Constantius and Galerius Caesars
- Διονυκείος* f. of Aur. Posis **4605** 3
- Διονυσία* w. of Aur. Polydeuces, m. of Aurelia Aphrodite **4596** 8
- Διονυσία* see also *Αύρηλία Διονυσία*
- Διονύσιος officialis* **4607** ii 13
- Διονύσιος* former *beneficiarius* **4611** ii 7
- Διονύσιος* s. of Aurelius Hieracapollon alias Epimachus **4590** 11
- Διονύσιος* **4584** 4 **4590** 4
- Διονυσόδωρος* **4607** iii 14
- Διονυσοθέων*: Theon alias Dionysiotheon, f. of Aurelia Dionysia **4595** 3-4
- Δίος* strategus **4584** 2
- Δίος* gymnasiarch **4624** 1, 22
- Διοσκουρίδης*: Julianus (alias?) Dioscurides (ex-curator *civitatis*?), f. of Aur. Dioscurides alias Julianus(?) **4606** 3
- Διοσκοουρίδης* see also *Αύρηλιος Διοσκοουρίδης*
- Δυνάμιος* h. of Valentina **4607** ii 11
- Δωρόθεος* see *Αύρηλιος Δωρόθεος*
- Ἐπίμαχος*: Aurelius Hieracapollon alias Epimachus, (former?) gymnasiarch, f. of Dionysius **4590** 11, 21-2
- Ἑρμίας* **4589** 21
- Ἑρμίας*: Theon alias Hermias, assistant **4589** 47
- Ἑρμίας* former *praepositus* **4607** iii 9
- Ἑσπεροίς* w. of Petemennophris, m. of Taonnophris **4586** 1-2
- Ἐνάντιον* . . . of Aphthonius **4607** ii 3
- Ἐνδαίμων* **4593** 6
- Ἐνδαίμων* see also *Φλάουιος Ἐνδαίμων*
- Ἐνλόγιος* f. of Ptolemaeus **4607** iii 5
- Ἐνδέβιος* f. of Aurelius Serenus **4610** 5 **4612** i 4 **4613** 3, 14
- Ἐνδέβιος* f. of Theon **4613** 11, 13
- Ἐντόλμος* **4607** ii 1
- Ἐντρόπιον* **4607** iii 19
- Ἐντρύγιος* see *Αύρηλιος Ἐντρύγιος*
- Ἐντύχιος* f. of Aurelius Potammon **4604** 4
- Ἐντύχιος* black man **4629** 7
- Ζήνων* see *Φλάουιος Ζήνων*
- Ζωΐλος* f. of Macrobius **4607** iii 7
- Ζωΐλος* f. of Philonicus **4611** ii 10
- Ζωΐλος* assistant **4589** 28
- Ζωΐλος* **4624** 9
- Ζωΐς* **4584** 4, 13
- Ἥλιοδώρα* d. of Apollonius **4607** ii 6
- Ἥνιοχος* f. of Horus **4588** 5
- Ἡραξ* d. of Ischyriion **4589** 19
- Ἡράκλεια* see *Αύρηλία Ἡράκλεια*
- Ἡρακλείδης* **4593** 20, 21
- Ἡράκλειος* s. of Sarapion, beekeeper **4582** 2, 4
- Ἡράκλειος* s. of Peteÿris **4583** 1, 14
- Ἡράκλειος* f. of Aur. (Claudius) Heraclius **4602** 4 **4603** 4 **4604** 5 **4605** 4
- Ἡράκλειος* see also *Αύρηλιος Ἡράκλειος*, *Κλαύδιος Ἡράκλειος*
- Ἡρακλῆς* s. of Horus, gd.-s. of Amenneus **4588** 1
- Ἡρακλῆς ὑδροπάροχος* **4591** 6, 7, 8
- Ἡράκλειος* see *Ἡράκλειος*
- Ἡράς* **4625** 4
- Ἡρόστρατος* strategus **4582** 1
- Ἡρων* **4593** 16
- Ἡρων* f. of Philoxena **4586** 5, 39
- Θαῆς* **4589** 32
- Θαῆς* slave, m. of Peteÿris **4584** 14
- Θαΐκοῦς* w. of Aur. Thonis **4596** 4
- Θάλεια* **4626** 1, 17
- Θεαγένης* **4624** 7
- Θεοδοσία* w. of Patenyphius **4615** 6
- Θεόδουλος* s. of Apollonius **4607** ii 10
- Θεόδωρος* substitute and deputy **4614** 2
- Θεόδωρος* **4607** iii 15
- Θεόδωρος* see also *Φλάουιος Θεόδωρος*
- Θέων a numeris*, boat owner **4612** i 13
- Θέων* s. of Eusebius, councillor, boat owner **4613** 11, 13
- Θέων* alias Hermias, assistant **4589** 47
- Θέων* alias Dionysiotheon, f. of Aurelia Dionysia **4595** 2-3
- Θέων* gymnasiarch(?) **4582** 18
- Θέων* **4612** ii 7
- Θεωνίς* . . . of Eutolmius **4607** ii 1
- Θώνις* **4584** 11
- Θώνις* diviner **4584** 18
- Θώνις* alias Morus, freedman **4585** 1, 34
- Θώνις* s. of Paysiris **4586** 13
- Θώνις* see also *Αύρηλιος Θώνις*
- Ἰερακαπόλλων* **4627** 1, 17
- Ἰερακαπόλλων* see also *Αύρηλιος Ἰερακαπόλλων*
- Ἰέραξ* see *Αύρηλιος Ἰέραξ*

- Ἰουλιανός* see Index II s.v. Jovian, Index III
- Ἰουλιανός* (alias?) Dioscurides (ex-curator *civitatis*?), f. of Aur. Dioscurides alias Julianus(?) **4606** 3
- Ἰουλιανός* ex-curator *civitatis*, f. of Aur. Gennadius and Aur. Hierax **4610** 4, 16 **4613** 3
- Ἰουλιανός*: Aur. Dioscurides Julianus(?), s. of Julianus (alias?) Dioscurides; councillor, overseer of wheat **4606** 3
- Ἰουλιανός*: Aur. Julianus(?) **4606** 3
- Ἰουλιανός* see also Index II s.vv. Constantius Augustus and Julian Caesar, Julian; III
- Ἰούλιος*: C. Julius x, strategus **4583** 5
- Ἰούλιος*: C. Julius Diogenes **4587** 5-6
- Ἰούλιος*: C. Julius Leucadius, strategus of the Oxyrhynchite **4607** i 1 **4608** 2 **4609** 2 **4610** 3 **4612** i 3 **4613** 2
- Ἰούλιος* see Index II s.v. Macrianus and Quietus
- Ἰσάκ* h. of Martha, f. of Aur. Victor **4616** 6
- Ἰσίδωρος*: Claudius Apelles alias Isidorus, s. of Horion **4595** 6-7, 48
- Ἰσχυρίων*: Harpocraton alias Ischyriion **4585** 12
- Ἰσχυρίων* f. of Heraïs **4589** 19
- Ἰσχυρίων* **4585** 8-9, 9-10, 17 **4600** 3
- Ἰωάννης* **4629** 4
- Ἰώσηπος*(?) s. of Timotheus **4611** back 2
- Καΐσαρ* **4584** 22; see also Index II, III
- Κάρος* f. of Ammon **4629** 13
- Κλαύδιος Ἀπελλῆς* alias Isidorus, s. of Horion **4595** 6, 47
- Κλαύδιος Ἡράκλειος* **4602** 9 (cf. Aur. Heraclius)
- Κλαύδιος Μαμερτίνος* *vir clarissimus*, consul **4608** 1 **4609** 1
- Κλήμης* f. of Aur. Clemens **4600** 4, 14
- Κλήμης* see also *Αύρηλιος Κλήμης*
- Κολλοῦθος domesticus* **4628** 1
- Κολλοῦθος* f. of Ptolemaeus **4611** ii 8
- Κόμμοδος* see Index II s.vv. Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, Commodus
- Κρησκέντιος* see *Φλάουιος Κρησκέντιος*
- Κυήγτος* see Index II s.v. Macrianus and Quietus
- Κωνσταντίος* see Index II, III
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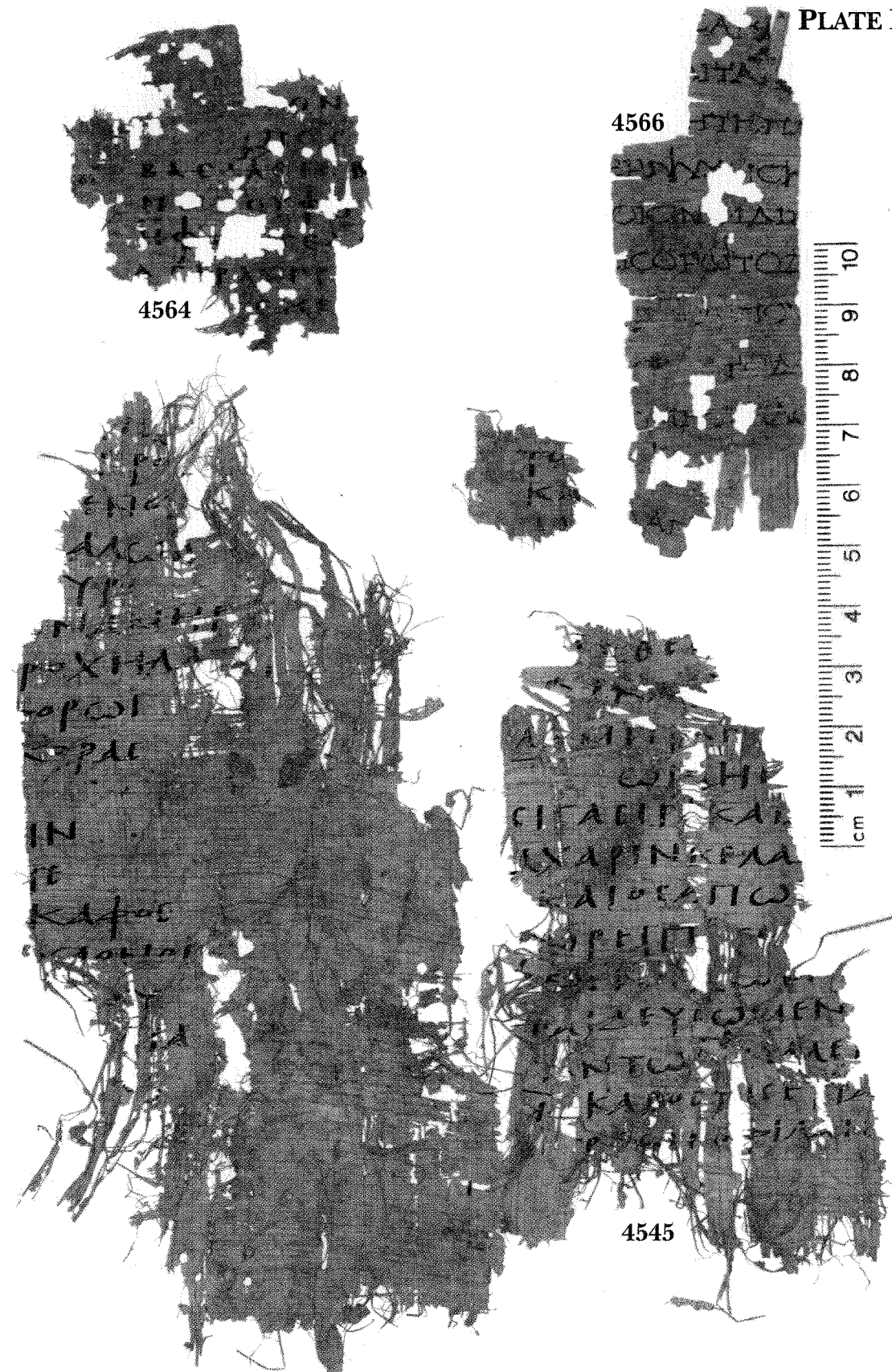
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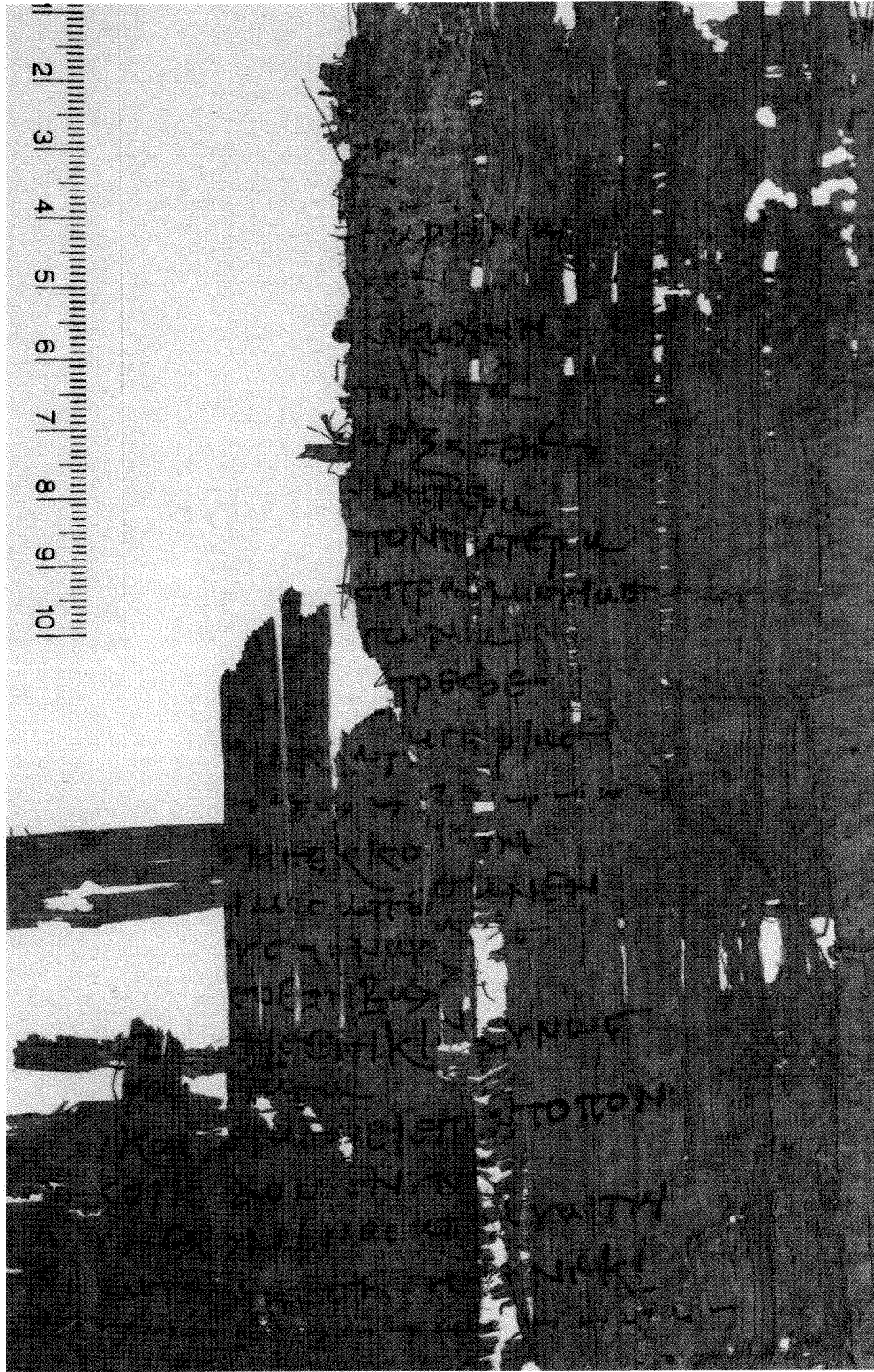
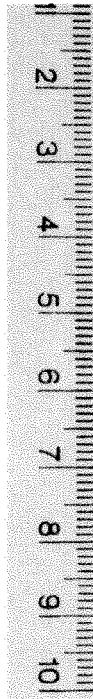




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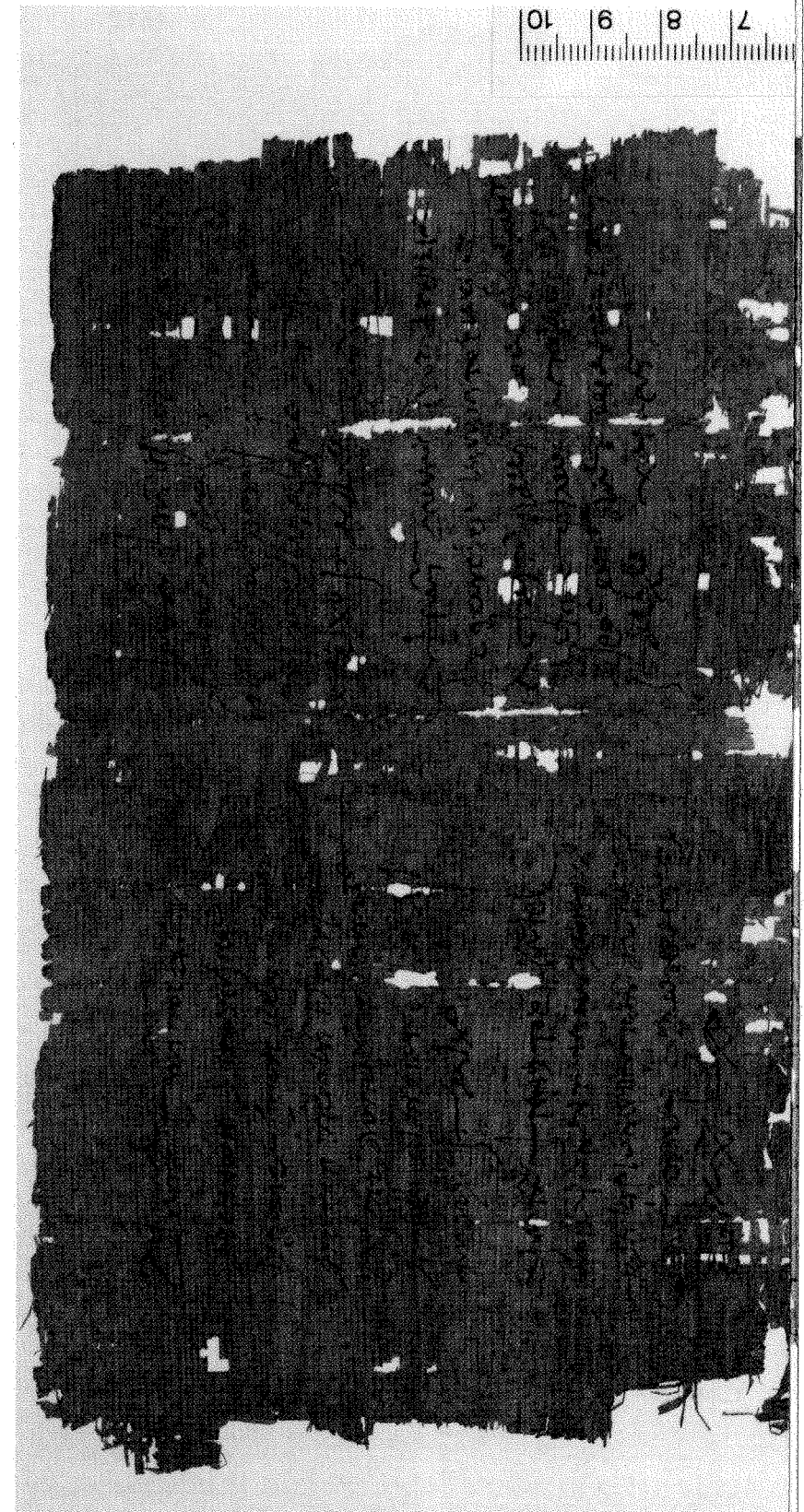
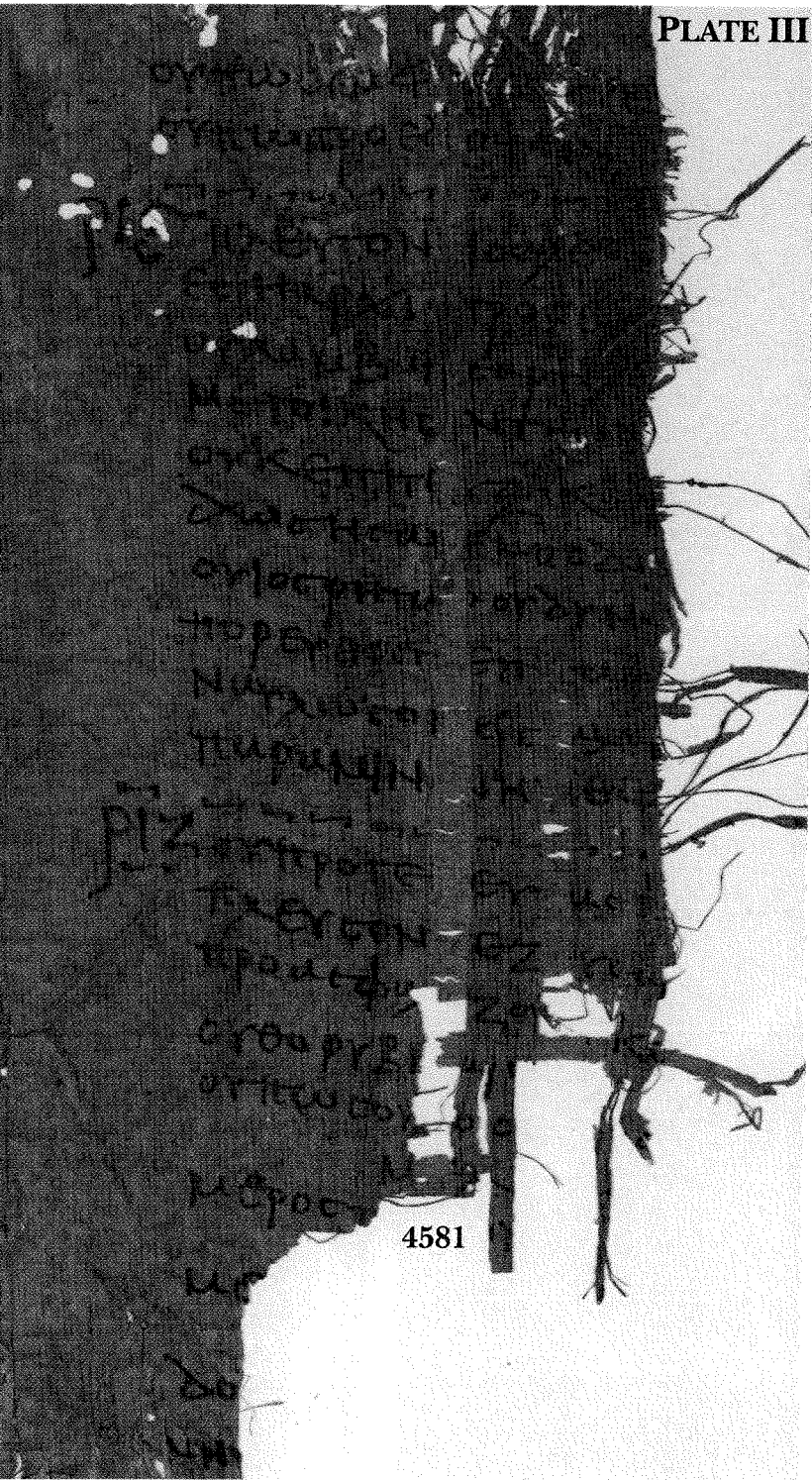
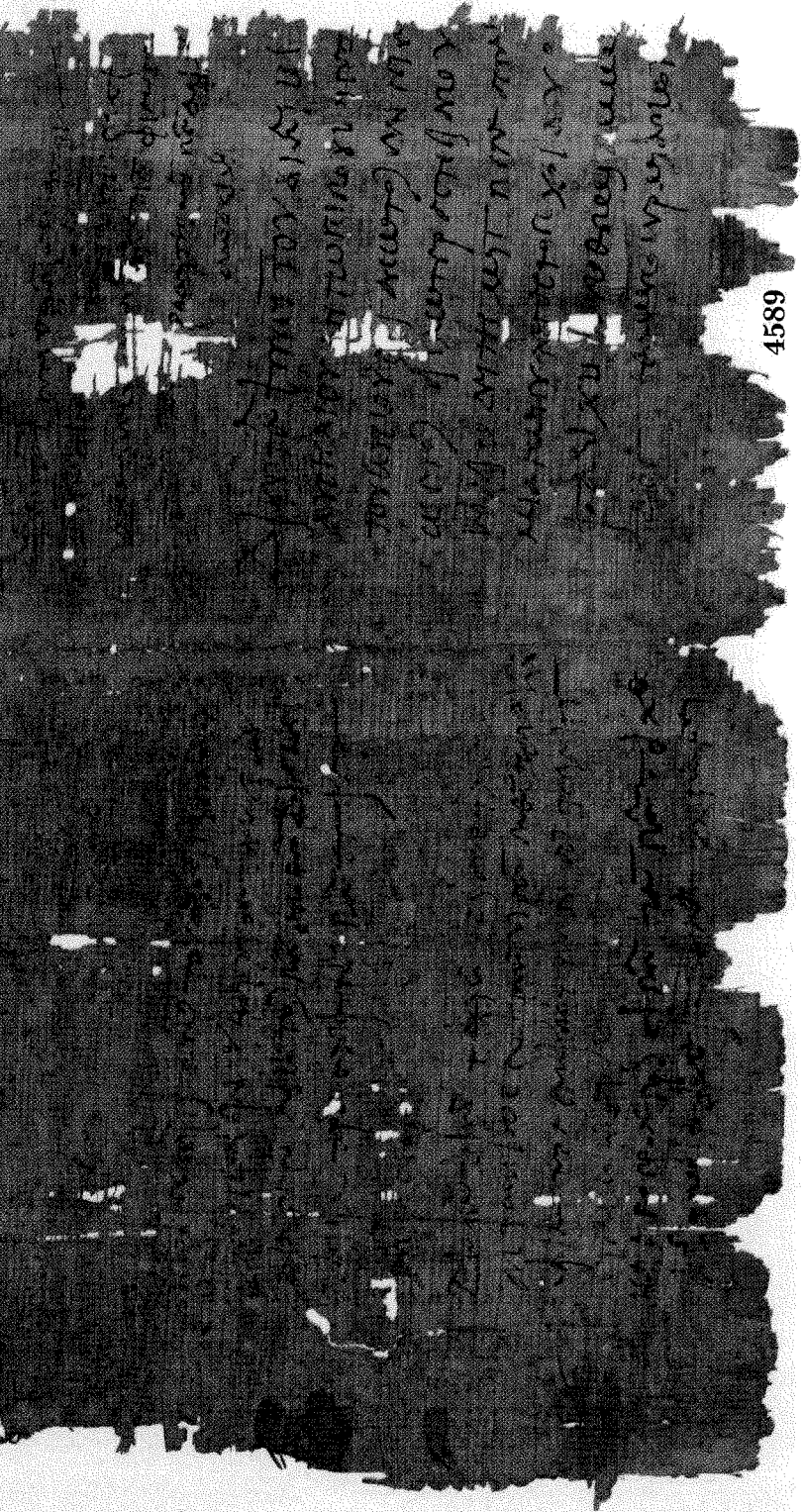




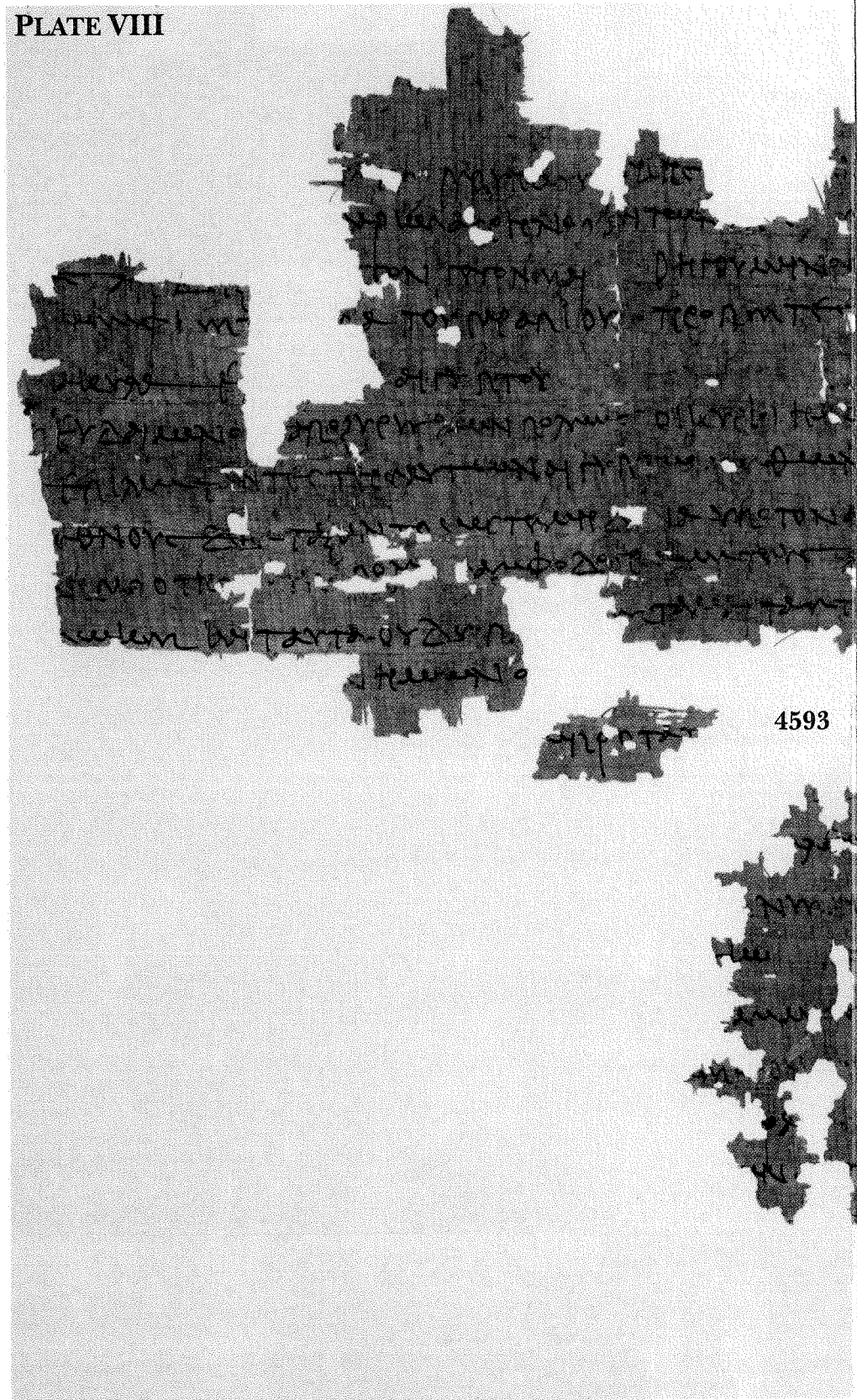


PLATE V



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PLATE VIII



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